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rdia

Wednesday March 13 1996

Abu Dhabi D 8.50	Hong Kong HK 5.25	London L 1.00
Athens A 2.00	Hungary H 2.00	Luxembourg L 1.00
Australia AU 2.00	India I 1.00	Malta M 1.00
Austria AS 2.00	Indonesia IN 2.00	Malta M 1.00
Belgium B 2.00	Iran IR 2.00	Malta M 1.00
Bolivia B 2.00	Italy I 1.00	Malta M 1.00
Brazil BR 2.00	Jordan J 2.00	Malta M 1.00
Canada CA 2.00	Korea K 2.00	Malta M 1.00
Czech Republic CZ 2.00	Latvia L 2.00	Malta M 1.00
Denmark DK 2.00	Lithuania LT 2.00	Malta M 1.00
Finland FI 2.00	Malta M 1.00	Malta M 1.00
France FR 2.00	Malta M 1.00	Malta M 1.00
Germany G 2.00	Malta M 1.00	Malta M 1.00
Greece GR 2.00	Malta M 1.00	Malta M 1.00
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# The Guardian International

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR  
46,499

Tom Bower on Balliol and the Flicks

## Oxford dons and Nazi gold

G2 with European weather



Billington on five twenty-something dramatists

## The new golden age of theatre

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Society

## Diary of an animal rights activist

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# Threat of new loyalist terror

David Sharrock  
Ireland Correspondent

**N**ORTHERN Ireland slid further towards a return to violence last night when loyalists warned the IRA that unless it swiftly restores the ceasefire, its attacks would be matched "blow for blow".

The warning came as the Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, arrived in the United States under increasing pressure from President Clinton for a restoration of the ceasefire. Mr Adams's flight coincided with an admission by the IRA that it bombed London's Brompton Road last Friday night.

Without mentioning the IRA, he added: "We must not allow those who have been hardened by the past to hijack the future of the children of Northern Ireland."

Mr Adams's six-day visit to the United States began in circumstances which contrast sharply with his triumphant White House encounter with President Clinton on St Patrick's Day last year.

His fund-raising rights have been withdrawn, blowing plans for a £1,000 a plate Sinn Fein dinner. Senator Edward Kennedy, who has been highly supportive of Sinn Fein's peace strategy, has declined to meet Mr Adams, who has not been invited to join prominent Irish and Irish Americans at this year's White House reception.

After Monday's working dinner with the Irish Government, Mr Trimble said he was suspicious of Dublin's commitment to the legal preparations for decommissioning weapons before the June 10 start of all-party talks.

Yesterday he said: "I hope that Mr Spring [the Irish deputy prime minister] or whoever is not thinking of finding some way of surreptitiously assisting Sinn Fein/IRA to duck the issue of decommissioning by not having the necessary legislation in place beforehand."

At Dublin airport Mr Adams said the IRA would have to "study carefully" an overnight call by President Clinton for a renewal of its ceasefire. He insisted: "I want to see the prime minister restored, but I have to say that the exclusion of Sinn Fein by the British and the Irish governments is not helpful."

However, Mr Adams added that he was again in America with "the hope that the guns can be silenced forever".

Rival forces battle for control of Newbury bypass treetops



Cliffhanger... Rock-climber and road protester Ben Moon tries to evade a rival team of climbers contracted to clear protesters from treehouses on the route of the proposed Newbury bypass Report page 3

## Rifkind walks tightrope on EU

Michael White  
Political Editor

**T**HE Cabinet's attempt to unite the Conservative Party behind the anti-federalist rhetoric of its new European white paper last night faced the double threat that its bluff will be called by its own Euro-sceptics and by Britain's European Union partners.

After the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, introduced the white paper in the Commons, former cabinet ministers John Redwood, Norman Lamont and Jonathan Aitken, made plain that its emphatic hostility to a "European super-state" could be an historic turning point — but only if ministers deliver on their promises to stand firm at the inter-governmental conference (IGC) which opens in Turin in two weeks time.

The white paper said the Government will fight for strong curbs on the European Court of Justice and against an increased role for the European Parliament. It also wants to change farming and fisheries policies, prevent any watering down of the national veto and keep Britain's opt-out from the social chapter.

Labour and Liberal Democrats claimed the Conserva-

Austin

BRITISH NEITHERMALL BE SLAVES, WE INSIST ON LOW WAGES.



mood — invoked the vision of an "outward-looking, free-trading, democratic" Partnership of Nations, the white paper's title.

But, to the dismay of some pro-European Tories — who later awarded him "5 out of 10" for the white paper — he also insisted that the EU "will only succeed if it respects the integrity of the independent nation states which comprise its membership, and if it is flexible enough to accommodate their political and cultural differences."

"The government is totally opposed to a monolithic, centralised, federal Europe," he

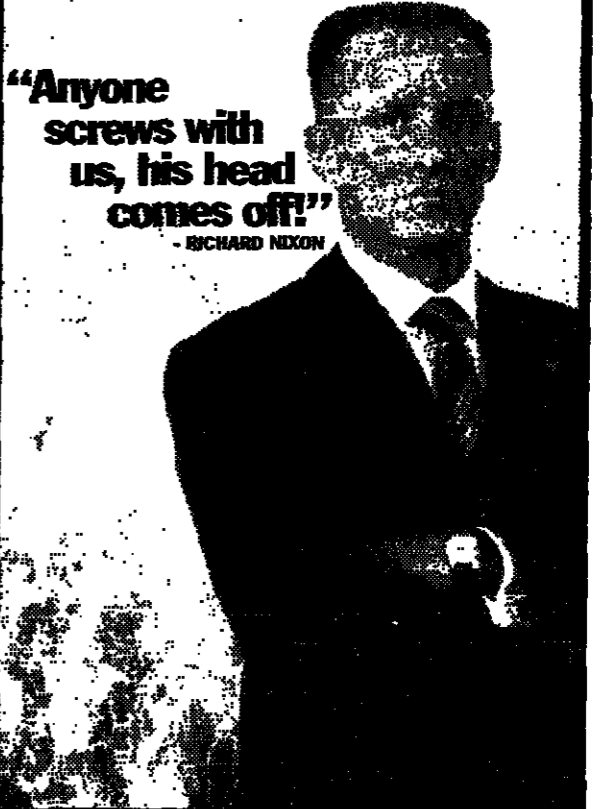
said to Tory cheers. Mr Aitken later praised some "good Euro-sceptical themes" but warned that if ministers failed, or a Blair government gave in, "this House would have to consider the option for withdrawal". Mr Lamont was almost as apocalyptic.

The tone of welcoming focus from hard-core Tory sceptics was given dramatic focus yesterday by the provisional judgement — hours before Mr Rifkind spoke — from the advocate general of the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg that Britain must abide by the European Commission's long disputed working time directive which imposes a 48-hour working week.

The snap verdict of jubilant British unions and Labour MPs that — if endorsed by the full court — it might prove the kiss of death for the social chapter opt-out was endorsed by Tory arch-sceptics like Sir Teddy Taylor. John Redwood accused the court of "threatening our veto of the social chapter. The UK parliament should immediately assert its rights" over the court — as Germany's constitutional court had done. Coming in the wake of the court defeat, their political and cultural differences.

"The government is totally opposed to a monolithic, centralised, federal Europe," he

JAMES WOODS  
AS H. R. HALDEMAN



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2 NEWS

Sketch

John comes out in sceptic camp



Simon Hoggart

THE Prime Minister came out as a Euro-sceptic yesterday. In a shock announcement he confirmed what newspapers had been hinting at for months — that in spite of an apparently happy union for more than five years, his relationship with Europe has been little more than a sham designed to protect his image in the eyes of the public.

First night

The plague years that infect us all

Robin Thomer Ring-a-Ring O' Roses Worcester THE SWAN in Worcester is the latest small theatre under threat of being turned into a receiving rather than a producing house in a move which would hammer another nail in the coffin of the regional repertory system.

Hospital letter to staff leads to row at immigration checks

Alan Travis Home Affairs Editor AN ATTEMPT by an NHS hospital trust to introduce immigration status checks for some of its staff before new government legislation comes into effect has provoked angry protests.

Alarm at 'extra-territorial' law's threat to British firms as US puts grudge with Castro before allies

Cuba trade ban angers UK

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

PRESIDENT Clinton set the United States on a collision course with Britain and several key allies yesterday when he escalated the US economic war against Cuba, approving the harshest ever package of measures against the island.



'It has been a complete nightmare for me, my family, friends and the pigs. They have all suffered equally'

Iain Whitney after his acquittal

for retaliation for last month's incident from Cuban exiles made continued administration resistance to the bill politically untenable.



Iain Whitney at the gate to the field where he keeps his saddle-back pigs and (above left) Sgt George Stepney, who has a chicken farm on adjoining land

Canada has threatened to challenge the measure as a violation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, and to take the matter before the World Trade Organisation in Geneva.



ordinary Cubans. "This bill is going to shore up Castro, not bring him down," said Lee Hamilton, of the House International Relations Committee.



tragedy. That night I was frightened, I will admit. I ran away because I was frightened and it turned out I was right in doing so.



Everyday tale of rural strife clears barrister

John Ezard

RANCOUR between a chicken-farming police sergeant and his prize pig-breeding neighbour led the policeman to concoct an "oppressive" vendetta which shamed British justice, a court was told yesterday.

Newly chic Gucci goes on sale for a cool \$1.3bn

Chris Barrie MAJORITY stake in Gucci was sold yesterday in a sale yesterday in a move that symbolises the fashion house's resurrection after years of turmoil and losses.

ens and tended vegetables on land bordering a field used by Mr Whitney for 30 pigs. Miss Barrett said Sgt Stepney moved the boundary fence at least twice to encroach on his land.

Rifkind walks tightrope between EU and sceptics

continued from page 1 over Spanish "quota hopping" in British fishing waters and the threat that "back door techniques" could also be used to impose tax changes.

assault and affray against three officers involved in the incident. Warwickshire police said: "The case was properly brought. Because of the private prosecution pending, which will be rigorously defended, we can make no further comments."

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BATTLE OF NEWBURY: Sheriff's officer handcuffed to tree in day of drama and farce

Climbers in hand to hand battles 50ft up

John Vidal

TWO teams of Britain's most skilled rock climbers, one loyal to the cause of conservation and the other hired by the Under-Sheriff of Berkshire, yesterday fought hand to hand '50 feet up the trees on the route of the Newbury bypass.



Ben Moon, with details of solicitors provided by Friends of the Earth, as police prepare to take him to Basingstoke police station PHOTOGRAPH ANDREW TESTA

testers were in three oak trees waiting for Under Sheriff Nicholas Blandy and 400 guards. The Sheffield-based climbers — who are staying in the Newbury camps in protest against climbing colleagues accepting £200 a day from Mr Blandy to drag protesters out of the trees — raced to the tree houses.

brought down in a cherry-picker and charged by the police. The scene was set for the two climbing teams to face each other. "It's like gladiators," said Nicola Murphy, a Newbury resident who had come to the camp to see what was happening. She and 100 others who had gathered below the trees were treated to a display of death-defying technical climbing virtuosity.

both sides chatting and insulting each other liberally. Mr Blandy's men pushed Mr Moon's team higher. For five hours the climbers blocked the routes up, hanging upside down, cutting off walkways and teasing the Sheriff's men. High farce followed as two of the climbers handcuffed one of Mr Blandy's officers to a tree.

the cherry-picker descended on to them and two climbers came from below. The climbers were charged with violent disorder. Climbing commentator Jim Ferris said: "These who have joined the bailiffs are set to be ostracised by many in the climbing community because they are abusing their climbing skills when they attack the protesters," said Jim Ferris of the British Mountain Festival Association.

Branson and BA fuel airline feud

Patrick Donovan City Editor

THE great 'dirty tricks' battle between the UK's two biggest airlines hotted up last night despite the payment by Richard Branson's Virgin Atlantic of £386,000 in costs to arch rival British Airways. BA seized the opportunity to claim that the high-profile corporate battle was at an end as Virgin had agreed to pay the costs involved in a case alleging computer misuse which never came to court. In addition, the airline claimed, a \$1 billion (£630,000) court case being brought against BA in the US was solely concerned with anti-competitive behaviour and aviation policy.

implicated in any of the allegations made by Virgin. The saga also caused huge disruption within the BA board as each director was required to sign an undertaking that he or she had no knowledge of the "dirty tricks" alleged by Virgin. BA said Virgin had brought the computer misuse action against BA in 1993 and had claimed £29 million damages. Eventually, each side had agreed to pay a proportion of the other's costs. Virgin accepted a settlement of £385,000 from BA last year and has now agreed to pay BA £386,000, said BA. BA said that a three-day hearing had been due to be held next week to decide the cost issue. Its new chief executive, Bob Ayling, said: "I am pleased that since 1993 there has been a more normal relationship between the two companies. I hope this will now continue because today's agreement finally closes off the issues between us in the UK."

Life goes on and up for 'distressed' Julia Carling

'Scandal is doing for her what Grant did for Hurley,' Edward Pilkington reports

JULIA CARLING, the estranged wife of the England rugby captain embroiled in the scandal that she slept with the Princess of Wales, yesterday picked up her first television award and vowed: "Life must go on."

Her glittering career

- 1992: Julia Smith starts career as assistant in a record shop.
1993: Gains access to rock world, sports etc, when meets guitarist Jeff Beck and starts 2½-year relationship.
1994: Johnnie Walker Dickson PR agency specialising in rock clients.
1994: Meets Will Carling at dinner party.
1995: Sets up own PR company, Hands On, with her brother Adrian Smith.
1995: Forms relationship with Will Carling.
July 1994: Marries Will Carling. Leaves Hands On.
Oct 1994: Starts presenting pop music show on cable television.
August 1995: News of the World breaks story of Will Carling's friendship with Princess Diana.
September 1995: Separates from Will. Begins presenting Capital Woman on Carlton television.
January 1996: Offered occasional work presenting Big Breakfast on Channel 4. Press watchdog says she had given press interviews "designed in part to enhance her image and promote her career".
March 12, 1996: Tabloids allege Will Carling had affair with Princess Diana. Julia is on front cover of the Tatler and picks up cable television award.
Upcoming: Six-part series on BBC2.



Sarah Boseley on the royal row that lost Relate its president

RELATE, the marriage guidance council, yesterday accused a Sunday newspaper of wrong-footing the charity wanted to distance itself from its patron, the Princess of Wales, prompting the resignation of its president. Joanna Foster resigned on Monday over comments attributed to staff in the Sunday Times, which suggested the charity wanted to distance itself from the princess until the public wrangling over her divorce came to an end. After spending most of the day closeted in a meeting, the charity's spokeswoman emerged to accuse the Sunday Times of getting it wrong. She was unable to explain why this had not been communicated to the press prior to Ms Foster's resignation. She said she had been strongly worded in her resignation letter to all staff. The article 10 days ago suggested the charity was afraid its image might be tarnished by the behaviour of its patron. Relate urges its clients to keep their grievances private. Yesterday Relate spokeswoman Julie Cole declared it had been "totally misrepresented by the Sunday Times". Nobody, she insisted, had resigned about the princess remaining as patron. Ms Cole had worked for Relate for many years, as a counsellor and in other roles. "I have never heard anybody say they didn't want the Princess of Wales as patron," she said. The idea that there is anybody out there saying it is untrue. The quotation attributed to Ed Straw, chairman of the charity, was "a misquote", she said. He said, according to the Sunday Times: "There are no plans involving the patron."



Joanna Foster: quotes were 'a betrayal of trust'

in public events over the next few months until the acrimony is resolved. Relate has not to date made any formal complaint about the newspaper. Mr Straw denies he made any mention of acrimony, while Relate points out that these have been very few plans involving the princess since she made her public withdrawal from public life two years ago. "She let Relate know very clearly that she would not be an active patron," said Ms Cole. "It was the princess's decision, not ours." They looked forward to greater involvement in the future. Nobody appears to have told Ms Foster, Relate's emminent president and the former head of the Equal Opportunities Commission, that it was all a misunderstanding. "I think she felt that somehow Relate had turned its back on the Princess of Wales," said Ms Cole. In her resignation letter to all staff, Ms Foster left no room for mediation. The quotes attributed to Relate, she said, "clearly implied criticism of the patron's handling of her divorce. These actions fly in the face of Relate's long-standing policy of not commenting publicly about the patron... they constitute poor judgment, a betrayal of trust and ill-considered management of the press."

publicly about the patron... they constitute poor judgment, a betrayal of trust and ill-considered management of the press. So had nobody explained Relate's side of the story to the president? "These kinds of conversation are taken at the level of the board of trustees," said Ms Cole. "I can't really comment." The whole sorry episode, she said, had been very painful for all concerned. Relate was established almost 60 years ago to counsel couples going through difficulties in their relationships. It changed its name eight years ago from the National Marriage Guidance Council to indicate that it helped all couples. Its 130 centres around the country see about 6,000 couples each year. Leader comment, page 8

Scotland and northern England bear brunt of sting in winter's tail

Barbie Duttler

THE latest blast of winter snow, the worst of up to six inches yesterday, left thousands of households without power and brought more misery for motorists. Scotland and the north of England bore the brunt of gales and driving snow, with 3,000 people in the north of Scotland last night bracing themselves for a night without power. Emergency shelters were set up in some areas to supply warm and hot food. In Cumbria, firemen used extending ladders to rescue two men trapped on the roof of their car in a ford swollen by torrential rain. Strong gusts of wind caused extensive damage to corporate hospitality marquees at Cheltenham Racecourse hours before the start of the National Hunt Festival.

Rural parts of Grampian had several inches of snow. The London drifts by gusts of more than 50mph. In Morayshire, drivers faced sandstorms as high winds whipped soil from fields. Six inches of snow fell in the Pennines, with up to four inches in Durham, Leeds and parts of the Midlands. Police and motoring organisations urged drivers to take extra care in conditions of freezing rain. The London Weather Centre said the sudden snap had been caused by a cold front which would retreat westwards today. Northern Ireland and the far south-west of England were expected to see some snow or icy rain today, but most of the country would be cold and dry.

Separating from his wife will reportedly cost £27 million but for "Muck" Flick, unburdened by a day's employment during his 53-year life, the settlement should buy instant relief. However, the dour Rheinlander will continue to suffer the intrusion of the tabloids, which regularly remind their readers that Muck is ultra-rich, professionally idle and sadly confused.

Q2 cover story

MIDLAND NOTICE TO CUSTOMERS NEW INTEREST RATES. Table with columns: Money Master, Premium Business Account, Clients Premium Deposit Account, Treasurer Account. Rows show interest rates for different amounts (Up to £5,000, £5,000+, etc.) and Gross % and Gross CAR %.

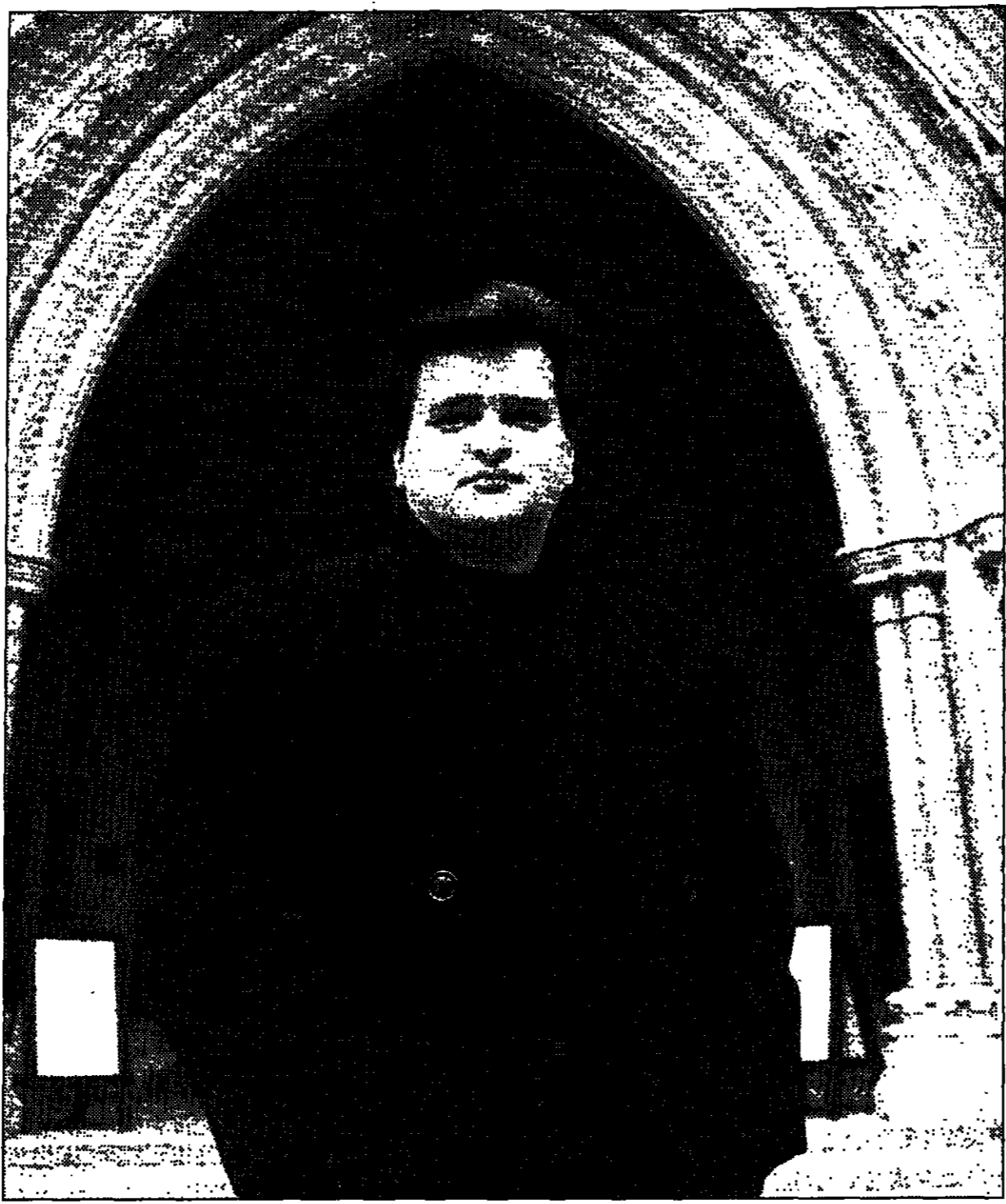
4 BRITAIN

British-born airman vows to continue legal fight as 'sympathetic' appeal judges criticise emirate royals

'Torture' pilot loses court plea to sue Kuwaiti state

Owen Bowcott on a question of immunity

BRITISH-born pilot who claims he was tortured by the Kuwaiti government and members of the emirate's Al-Sabah royal family yesterday vowed to take his test case challenging state immunity to the European Court. Lawyers for Sulaiman Al-Adani, aged 38, failed to convince the Court of Appeal in London that the Gulf state should be made liable through the English courts for the severe injuries sustained when he was beaten by prison guards and scarred by burning petrol. The hearing, which highlighted concerns about human rights in Kuwait, coincided with an international conference at two West End hotels to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the war against Iraq. Organised by the Kuwaiti government and addressed by politicians such as Baroness Thatcher, George Bush, the former US president, and Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind, the conference was intended to focus international concern on the continuing human rights abuses of Saddam Hussein's regime. In a unanimous judgment by Lord Justice Stuart-Smith, Lord Justice Ward and Mr Justice Buckley, the court dismissed Mr Al-Adani's appeal. But the judges did express sympathy for his predicament. "The body of the plaintiff has been scarred by what is accepted to have been torture in the same way the body politic is scarred by torture," said Lord Justice Ward. Members of the Kuwaiti royal family were more likely to have been responsible for the injuries than the Kuwaiti state, Lord Justice Stuart-Smith suggested. "[They] had demonstrated their readiness to take the law into their own hands... and subject him to extreme and life-threatening assaults." Mr Al-Adani, who now lives in London and is still undergoing medical treat-



Sulaiman Al-Adani, whose beating and burning has highlighted concerns over human rights in Kuwait PHOTOGRAPH BY SEAN SMITH

ment, claims he was arrested by Kuwaiti authorities at the end of the Gulf war because they wrongly suspected he had distributed a sex video featuring a member of the Al-Sabah family. "A guard put a machinegun to my head. I was handcuffed and they were kicking me from behind," he said. After being released from prison, he was driven to a private villa where he claimed he saw a swimming pool with six or seven floating corpses. "I was dragged into a small room where foam mattresses, soaked in petrol, were set alight. My body was very badly burned." At the end of the two-day hearing, Mr Al-Adani said: "We will go to the House of Lords and Europe, if necessary. If we can persuade them to lift the state immunity then I will sue the Kuwaiti government." Redress, a charity which campaigns on behalf of torture victims and has supported his case, said it was disappointed at the outcome. "The Kuwait government seems prepared to spend lots of money fighting for its immunity but is avoiding paying compensation." The Kuwait government conference also drew criticism from the charity War on Want, which accused the country of "breath-taking arrogance" in condemning human rights violations in Iraq, while abusing human rights within its own country. Margaret Lynch, War on Want director, yesterday handed a letter to the Kuwaitis about the plight of Palestinians, Iraqis, Jordanians, Bedouins and other foreign nationals imprisoned in Kuwait. Almost 1,000 foreigners were allegedly rounded up in Kuwait after the war. Many were tortured and 70 disappeared between February and June 1991. Amnesty International recently reported that more than 160 people are being held in Kuwait after "manifestly unfair trials".

British firms still offering 'shock batons' abroad

David Pallister  
BRITISH security equipment companies are continuing to offer quotations for supplying electric shock batons to notorious regimes despite the exposure of the trade in torture weapons last year. In a documentary to be screened tonight, Back On the

Torture Trail, Channel 4's Dispatches shows that five companies agreed to supply the batons from third countries for export to Zaire. Last year, the same television team revealed that Royal Ordnance, part of British Aerospace, was prepared to supply thousands of the 60,000 volt sticks to the Lebanon and boasted that RO had sold 8,000 to Saudi Arabia. RO's suppli-

Brent seeks to freeze out Unison

Seumas Milne  
Labour Editor  
COUNCILLORS in the Tory-controlled London borough of Brent have decided to "de-recognise" Unison, the largest union in the country, in a move effectively without precedent in local government. The plan to de-recognise Unison, representing about 2,700 manual and white collar workers employed by Brent, will now go to the full council next month, where the Conservative group has a majority of one. The reason given in council documents is the "unacceptable personal conduct" of Unison's regional official covering Brent, Stuart Barber, who is accused of leaking false information to the local press. "The only means of ensuring that the council no longer has to deal with Mr Barber," a report to councillors explained, "would be formal de-recognition of Unison." Last night Mr Barber dismissed the allegations as lies, described the Tory council leadership as "scallywags", and said the real reason for his "victimisation" was a race discrimination case involving a senior Brent official. Brent has a reputation as a politically maverick council and came under Tory control after two Labour councillors defected in 1991. Since then the Conservative group has sought to oust Westminster as a municipal Tory flagship, pushing through a far-reaching privatisation programme and attempting to create an internal business market in the council. The borough is the seventh poorest and most racially mixed council area in Britain. Last month, Hilary Armstrong, Labour's local government spokeswoman, called on the Tory party chairman, Brian Mawhinney, to launch an investigation into what she called the council's "sleaze and mismanagement" after a series of financial scandals. An attempt to end union representation rights in a local authority is believed to have happened only once before: at Adur council in West Sussex, where three small manual unions were unable to agree a lead representative in negotiations. Brent's Tory personnel committee chairman, Sean O'Sullivan, said yesterday: "This council is not into union-bashing, but it will not agree to a union. Any illegal strike action resulting from this decision will be considered to be a breach of contract and officers have been instructed to take the necessary action to deal with the problem should it arise." Labour councillors believe that the attacks on Mr Barber are a cover to smash the union in Brent. Chris Humphries, Unison's London regional secretary, said that any move to de-recognise the union would be strongly resisted. "Whatever the issues, you simply can't deny the right to union representation to several thousand public service workers."

Providing the low-down

BILL Buttmer, managing director of Compass Safety International, "It's electronic. It gives him a huge electric shock. Low, low current, high voltage." Q: "Right, non-lethal though?" Buttmer: "Oh yes, I mean that's the whole object. Otherwise you'd just shoot the guy. This is bas-

cally to make him behave himself." Q: "Right... well, we're not going to need an export licence?" Buttmer: "No, you're not. Because they're coming straight out of Mexico." Q: "And is Zaire going to present Mr Buttmer with all this?" Buttmer: "No."

made and exported legally. The quote from the managing director, Bill Buttmer, was for 900 batons at between £50 and £60 each. The head of the Mexican factory admitted they could be dangerous, "especially when you put it in the groin." When Compass was confronted, the programme says, the chairman, Don May, withdrew the offer and announced that Mr Buttmer had resigned. Mr May told Dispatches he "abominates the deliberate infliction of pain on a helpless person." Following the first programme in January last year, Strathclyde police began investigating a Glasgow businessman, Frank Stott of ICL Technical Plastics, who had demonstrated one of the batons, which are banned in Britain under the Firearms Act. Ministry of Defence police also confiscated one from the Royal Ordnance Factory in Chorley, Lancashire. A report went to the Crown Prosecution Service last April, but no action is being taken until Scottish police finish their investigation.

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Labs 'broke animal use rules'

Gary Youngs  
A MAN who spent two years working undercover in London animal research laboratories yesterday accused the institutions of breaching government guidelines on animal abuse and called on the Home Office to launch a full-scale investigation. Crispin Iles, a member of the Anti-Vivisection Society, claims he saw a monkey with a metal plate and electrodes bolted into its head, the gasping of several thousand surplus rats, and dogs which had been implanted with pace-

makers that would cause heart failure. The laboratories cannot be named. To do so could put the staff and their families at risk. "We have shown that neither the law nor the Home Office Inspectorate can protect laboratory animals. Our report details many instances of both the spirit and the letter of the Government's code of practice being ignored in these laboratories." The Home Office said: "If there is any evidence of flouting procedures the organisation should bring it forward and we will look at it." The society claims it was forced to conduct an under-

Rogue Chinese satellite makes inscrutable exit from world stage

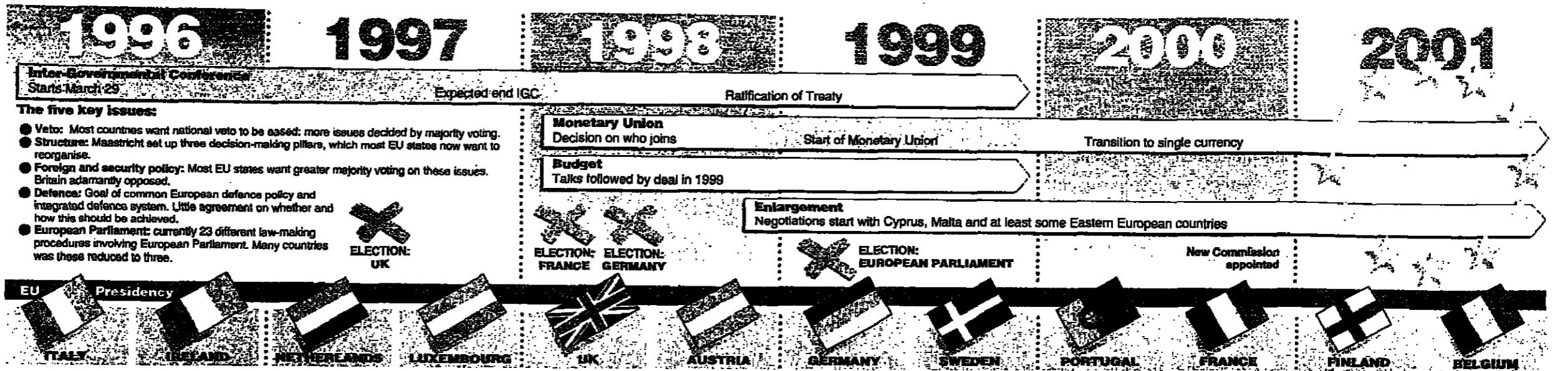
Tom Redford  
Science Editor  
FRESH, the rogue Chinese satellite with the oak shingle heat-shield outside and the diamond encrusted Mao Zedong button inside, plunged to its doom harmlessly over the south Atlantic at 0410 GMT yesterday, the US Space Command said. Alternatively, Russian anti-aircraft defence forces in Moscow said pieces of the satellite crashed into the north-east Pacific at 0325 GMT. The Americans were certain of the fate, if not the precise whereabouts, of the identified flying object that dominated the headlines as it threatened to hit Britain. The

High Blood Pressure?

ADVERTISMENT  
A new book reveals the latest medical treatments and natural ways to relieve high blood pressure. It is of vital importance to anyone suffering from hypertension, the medical phrase for high blood pressure. Here are a few facts from High Blood Pressure, The Complete Guide to Hypertension.  
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rent seek  
freeze  
at Unison

Cook praises 'positive tone' of statement and backs independence on foreign and home affairs, defence and justice



Europe paper 'avoids the key issues'

Problems loom for Labour on treaty stance

**Michael White and Patrick Wintour**

ABOUR last night condemned the Government's white paper on the forthcoming Maastricht review negotiations as an attempt "to please everyone that, as a result, will please no one". The paper failed to address three issues which divided the Conservative Party — the proposed European single currency, the social chapter and measures to combat mass unemployment.

Robin Cook also came tantalisingly close to saying that Labour might beat the Government to declaring in favour of a referendum on the single currency. "No British government can join a single currency without the consent of the British people," he told the Commons.

But potential dangers for Tony Blair in the election campaign emerged from two directions during the statement by Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary. Tony claims that a Labour government would abandon Britain's veto across a range of social, industrial and environmental policies, and the evident hostility to further compromise from Euro-sceptical colleagues like Tony Benn, Dennis Skinner and Peter Shore.

Mr Cook, shadow foreign secretary, went on to say that Labour would acknowledge what he called "the positive tone" of much of the statement, and endorsed the white paper's insistence that foreign and defence policy, plus home affairs and justice, should remain outside the intergovernmental co-operation, and not become part of the integrated EU institutions.

Welcoming Mr Rifkind's declaration that subsidiarity should be entrenched at the

'The treaty has failed the people... the Government can only achieve its wish-list by renegotiating it'



**BILL CASH**  
"There is a sense in the electorate in Europe and in the UK — whether one looks at the question of Bosnia, ERM, fishing, monetary union or a host of other matters — that the Maastricht treaty has failed the people."  
"In order to make the changes to put this right, in the interests of Europe and the UK, there must be changes to the treaty."  
"Yet treaty amendments require unanimity. How is the Government going to achieve the objectives set out in this wish-list of a white paper, except by renegotiating the Maastricht treaty?"

**JOHN REDWOOD**  
"The Government say they want a partnership of nations. They want to protect the powers of Westminster and the British nation to make crucial decisions... that is all fine, but the issue is... is the negotiation position, as defined, strong enough to live up to those good words?"  
"In the Commons chamber Mr Redwood pressed Mr Rifkind: 'Given the way the European Court is demolishing our fishing industry and our social chapter opt-out, I think the Government will have to come forward with stronger measures... to limit the powers of that court and to reassert our own right to make our own decisions.'"

**EDWINA CURRIE**  
"I would have preferred a white paper that was much more positive and which proposed really strong changes in the EU which our partners would have supported. But we were not going to get that, although we may in the negotiations. It was a bit thin. Reading it and listening to the debate in the Commons, one wonders why the Government bothered."  
"So it is five out of ten, could do better, keep trying. It is very rude indeed about the European Parliament which has in it representatives of the British electorate. Britain ought to be doing everything it can to make sure that the parliament works better, and stop being so critical of it."

**JONATHAN AITKEN**  
"It struck some good Euro-sceptic themes, such as new limits on the European Union and on the European Court of Justice and to defend our national opt-outs."  
"But I warn you [addressing John Major] that if by any chance those important battles you and your team are going to fight were to fail, or if they were to be surrendered by the so-revealingly new Europhile Labour front bench we heard this afternoon, then for the first time for many years, this House would have to start to seriously consider the option of withdrawal."

**NORMAN LAMONT**  
"The real test is... whether this country can, over the next few years, avoid being sucked into a European state of the kind I discovered at the last intergovernmental conference many of our partners do actually want."  
"He asked whether there was 'any organisation in history which has had an elected parliament, a supreme court, a passport, a right of citizenship and a single currency which has not been a state.'"  
"He added later: 'Some of European partners actually do wish to create a United States of Europe. It requires enormous determination to be happy to be isolated, to fight and to resist that pressure.'"

**IAIN DUNCAN-SMITH**  
"It is still on the cusp of deciding whether we are going to demand an Anglo-Saxon free trading Europe, or a Franco-German Europe which is more rigid and deep."  
"We have got to be much bolder about setting forward our Anglo-Saxon alternative."  
"The door is opened by the white paper to radical change by a memorandum on the future of the European Court of Justice, but ministers have got to accept the ECJ is not like a British high court. It has been and always will be a political animal. We will not just look at directives, but also interpret rules and speeches to justify its centralising vision."

'Constructive, realistic, rooted in national interest'

**Michael White and Patrick Wintour**  
on the details of the IGC white paper

THE Government's approach to the Maastricht review conference is "constructive, realistic and rooted in the British national interest". But it is determined to resist pressure towards a United States of Europe which will have to be persuaded of the benefits beyond conceding further decision-making powers to Brussels.

This is the main thrust of yesterday's white paper. Drafted in the Foreign Office, its pragmatic tone remains unmistakably committed to the belief it states clearly in the opening paragraph — that "the UK's role as a leading member of the EU is vital to our national interest".

The European Union must never become "a cosy, inward-looking club," the white paper says, and it warns against pressures for "tighter political integration, more centralisation, more conformity and corporatist economic solutions to perceived difficulties of the free market".

But its underlying assumption — that the European Union is "more than a free trade area" — colours the 27 page summary of Britain's broad negotiating attitude, with 12 pages of detailed annexes, ahead of the intergovernmental conference (IGC) in Turin. Though it seeks to balance the arguments, Euro-sceptics will not be pleased.

The Government endorses

EU partners plan delaying tactics in negotiations and hope for deal with 'flexible' Labour government

**John Palmer in Brussels**

BRITAIN'S European Union partners last night appeared determined to delay the conclusion of the Maastricht Treaty review until after the general election, in the hope that a Labour government would prove a more flexible negotiator.

In Brussels, publication of yesterday's white paper confirmed fears that commitments will now concentrate on hammering out an outline agreement among themselves in the hope that they can then conclude a deal with a Blair-led government by the middle of next year.

The Irish government, which takes over the EU presidency from Italy in June, hopes that an outline consensus among the 14 of the European Parliament and writing employment objectives into the treaty.

The other 14 governments will now concentrate on hammering out an outline agreement among themselves in the hope that they can then conclude a deal with a Blair-led government by the middle of next year.

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The Government endorses

Court of Justice when a member state disputes the legal basis on which the Commission is acting. It also wants to limit community action "through the back door" such as invoking health and safety to extend social policy, and tighter monitoring of commission powers.

**Council of Ministers**  
It signals Britain's refusal to concede any more policy control to a qualified majority voting system, while saying there is a "strong case" for the big four states — Germany, France, Britain and Italy with two-thirds of the EU's population but only 10 votes each out of 87 in total — to have greater voting weight. Without reaching this a decision on how to protect small states' rights too. It favours a "second voting criterion" like population.

**The European Parliament**  
It is "most likely to win public support" by developing its role as a restraint and monitor on "fraud and mismanagement". It does not need new powers and certainly not at the expense of national parliaments whose role in holding ministers to account is entrenched in Maastricht.

**European Court of Justice**  
The court's interpretations sometimes seem to go beyond what governments intended in framing EU laws. The Government would like the IGC to examine strengthening the power of the court to limit retrospective application of its judgments; introducing the principle that member states should be liable for damages only in cases of serious and manifest breaches of their obligations; applying national time limits to all cases based on EC law except where the members state's failure to implement a directive is manifest breach of its obligations; an internal appeals procedure; an accelerated procedure for time-limited cases and a treaty provision clarifying the application of subsidiarity in the interpretation of EC law.

**Common foreign and security policy**  
It is in Britain's interest for the EU to act together as much as possible on the world stage, but such policy must never replace national policy. If there is no collective will to act, it is unwise to force action through artificial voting procedures. States have already agreed at Maastricht that they should try not to let the EU take a policy which has majority support.

**Defence policy**  
The white paper insists that issues of defence go to the heart of national sovereignty. Decisions to send servicemen and women to risk their lives are for national governments accountable to national parliaments. Member states must be free to act in defence of their national interests.

European defence co-operation must therefore be organised in such a way that, while bearing their full share of the burden within Nato and without building structures that duplicate those already available in the alliance, European countries are able to act on their own when necessary. The Western European Union, rather than the EU, provides the best basis for European defence co-operation. Its separate intergovernmental treaty base ensures that decisions on defence policy are taken by consensus and remain where they belong — with sovereign nation states.

**Justice and home affairs**  
These are matters of high domestic political sensitivity involving questions of national sovereignty such as the rules governing the admission of third country nationals to member states, operations of police and customs authorities and the criminal justice system. There can be no question of supranational solutions imposed on member states in the areas regardless of national sentiment or varying social and legal traditions.

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# Chronicle of a genocide foretold

## Victoria Brittain assesses the bitter truths behind UN chestbeating over its failure in Rwanda

IN EARLY January 1994, three months before the genocide in Rwanda in which about 800,000 people were killed, the United Nations force commander in the capital, Kigali, sent his superiors in New York a coded cable. It revealed the Rwandan security forces' training of interhamwe Hutu militia, their boast to be able to kill 1,000 Tutsis in 20 minutes, plans for political assassinations and the forced withdrawal of Belgian troops, and the existence of a large weapons cache in the capital. The UN chose to do nothing, and its moral authority was fatally undermined by its attempt to pretend it did not know genocide was coming.

This is one of the principal conclusions of an unprecedentedly self-critical report on the Rwandan tragedy, published yesterday, which was sponsored and financed by several UN agencies and by governments and non-governmental organisations from 37 countries, led by Denmark. Almost every level of the UN organisation comes under criticism for failing to respond to the genocide. "Humanitarian aid was substituted for political action," Niels Dabelstein, chairman of the report's steering committee, said. The report's embarrassing findings and its challenging political recommendations have been welcomed by many within the UN and the main donor countries implicated in the failure in Rwanda. "No one in the donor community can afford to ignore this," one aid official said yesterday. The lessons for the deepening crisis in Burundi, Rwanda's own continuing instability, and the seemingly insoluble problem of nearly 2 million refugees still in Zaire and Tanzania almost two years after the genocide, were clear, the official said. In the first weeks of the systematic killings, the UN secretary general himself, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, was not on top of the situation and misjudged it, the peacekeeping department was paralysed, and the Security Council could not get its act together and did not regard

Rwanda as strategically important, said one of the report's 22 independent experts at the launch in London of the five-volume document. "The UN failed the test, the early warning signals were simply not heard," said Astrid Suhrke, a Norwegian academic and joint author of the most critical section of the study which reviewed the failure of early-warning systems and conflict management. "Was it possible to organise the machinery of death without the world knowing, in a country where there were numerous UN organisations overseeing a peace accord, many NGOs, and where France was very heavily involved with the government's machinery in every sphere, from economic to military?" Ms Suhrke asked. France is the only sponsor of the report to have withdrawn its support when officials saw the first draft and demanded amendments, which were only partly accepted by the independent authors. "Several agencies that came in for harsh criticism stayed with the project — it is a power

and lacked a clear lead from one co-ordinating agency. The 300 non-governmental organisations — with some honourable exceptions such as Oxfam and Médecins Sans Frontières — suffered from the same problems. Some were so poorly managed that said one of the report's authors. The media's concentration on the visually dramatic story of the refugees was also partly responsible for diverting resources into camps and away from survivors. As media interest has ebbed, so have donor commitments. Recent appeals for Rwanda asked for \$285 million (£180 million) for 1996. Just \$1 million has been received. "In post-genocide Rwanda, rhetoric has not been matched by resources for human rights or rebuilding the justice system," said David Tardif-Douglas, a Washington-based consultant and co-author of the report's section on reconstruction. Only a regional solution can solve the Rwandan refugee crisis and at the same time hope to avert a complete collapse of the state in Burundi and Eastern Zaire, aid officials said yesterday. The report's recommendations include:

- the creation of a small, powerful humanitarian sub-committee within the UN Security Council to focus on preventive diplomacy;
- a beefed-up co-ordinating role, with adequate funding, for the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs which has been emasculated by more powerful UN agencies;
- a recognition of the important role played by regional organisations, such as the Organisation of African Unity;
- a clear UN mandate to protect civilians;
- better regulation and accountability of NGOs.

### The UN failed the test — the early warning signals were simply not heard

erful tool, it provides ammunition for those who really want reform in the UN," said Mr Dabelstein, a Danish foreign ministry official. Various UN aid agencies were among the organisations criticised for their work during the refugee crisis in the aftermath of the genocide. The report says they were beset by competitive tensions, confusion over their roles, they may have contributed to deaths, the report said. The media were sharply criticised for irresponsible reporting which too often portrayed the genocide and the targeted killings of politicians as mere African tribalism. Only the BBC and Le Monde were named as exceptions. "The failure of the media contributed to international lack of interest in the genocide."

*The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience. Available from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.*

## Allies at odds over Nigeria

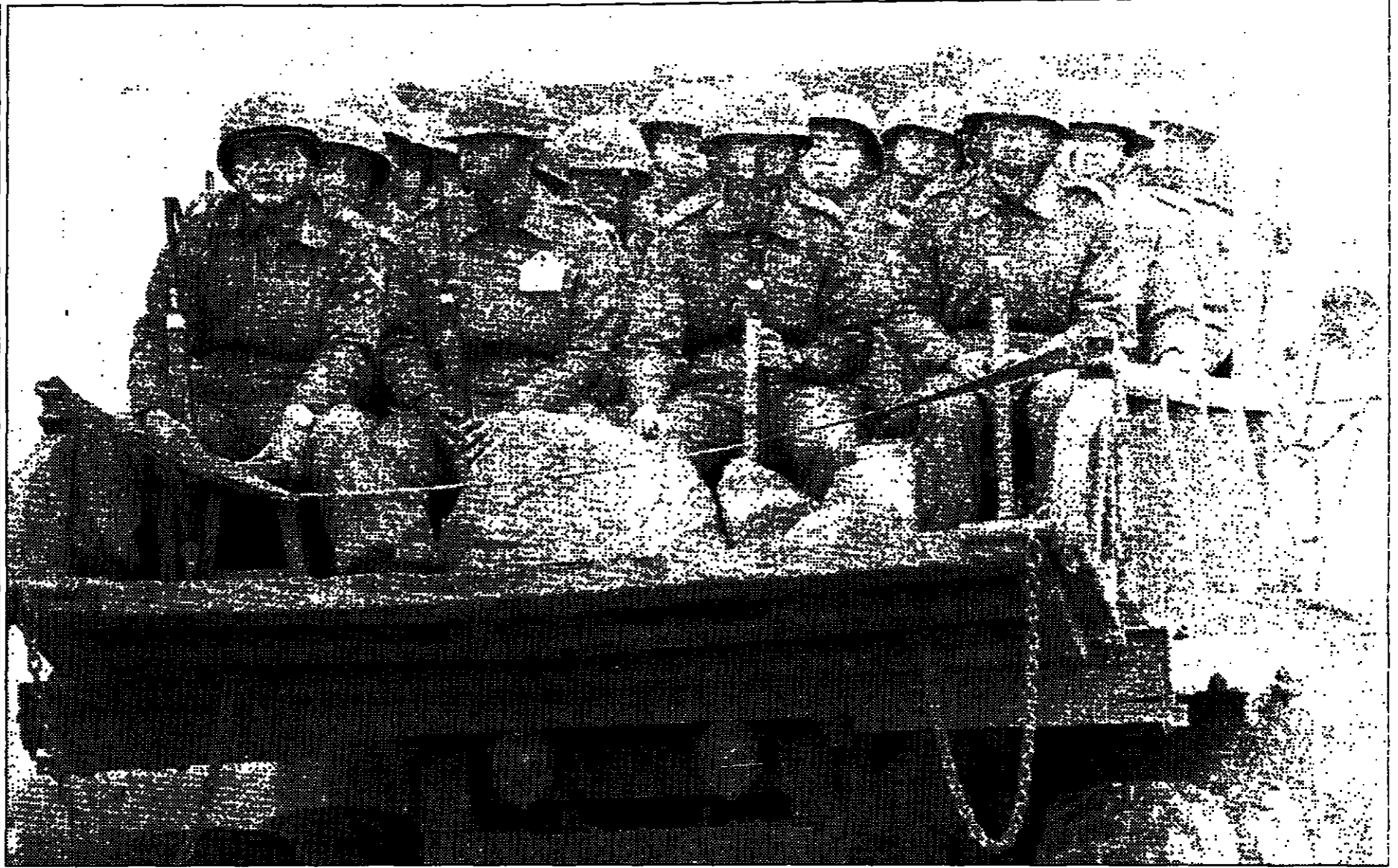
Ian Black  
Diplomatic Editor

BRITAIN is working to persuade the United States not to pursue proposals to ban foreign investment in Nigeria and freeze the African country's financial assets abroad as a way of punishing its military regime for human rights abuses. Baroness Chalker, the Foreign Office minister, is to tell her counterparts in the state department next week that such moves would be premature, since the US has not followed Britain and its European Union partners with the limited punitive measures imposed after the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists last November.

penion from the organisation to consider measures against the regime. Sources in Whitehall say the Treasury, reluctant to damage London's position as an international financial centre, is strongly against the freezing of assets, which in the absence of a United Nations Security Council resolution, would require special legal powers. Any such move would also be anticipated by Nigerians holding assets abroad. Britain has imposed an arms embargo, tightened visa controls, suspended non-humanitarian aid, expelled Nigerian military personnel and withdrawn its own defence attaché. But the High Commissioner has returned to Abuja on the grounds that his presence was required to smooth the path of the Commonwealth mission.

Foreign Office sources say any new measures — contained in a letter from the US president, Bill Clinton, to the Prime Minister, John Major, last month — would be ineffective without an oil embargo. And since the US buys 60 per cent of Nigeria's oil — which provides the government in Abuja with 90 per cent of its foreign-exchange earnings — this move is not being considered. "The US hasn't thought this through," Baroness Chalker said. British officials are particularly scornful of an additional US proposal that joint sporting events with Nigeria end — but only when this year's Atlanta Olympics are over. Despite the punitive action against Nigeria, the country's military ruler, General Sani Abacha, has still not agreed to receive a team of Commonwealth foreign ministers formed after Nigeria's sus-

cepted by Nigerians holding assets abroad. Britain has imposed an arms embargo, tightened visa controls, suspended non-humanitarian aid, expelled Nigerian military personnel and withdrawn its own defence attaché. But the High Commissioner has returned to Abuja on the grounds that his presence was required to smooth the path of the Commonwealth mission. "The package is supposed to establish our seriousness prior to re-engaging the military regime in order to secure a speedy passage to democracy," a US official told the New York Times. Gen Abacha has promised to hand over power to civilians in 1998. But the military annulled Nigeria's last democratic elections in 1993. Britain and other European countries combat that blocking new foreign investment which totalled \$1.95 billion (£1.2 billion) in 1994 — would merely deliver another blow to Nigeria's crumbling economy, affecting the poor and not their corrupt military rulers. A consortium of British, Dutch, French and Italian oil companies has just signed a contract to build a \$3.8 billion natural gas liquefaction plant in eastern Nigeria.



State of alert... Taiwanese troops gather on the western island of Penghu yesterday, amid fears that China might try to seize an islet held by Taipei. PHOTOGRAPH: SHUN KANG

## China shows its teeth with live-fire exercises

Taiwanese troops have begun digging roadside trenches in the heavily fortified islands of Quemoy and Matsu. A more likely target, however, would be vulnerable islets that could be seized with little or no combat. "They want to show their teeth," said Andrew Yang of the Chinese Council of Advanced Policy Studies, a think-tank close to the Taiwanese military. "They are trying to push Taiwan to a political settlement entirely on their terms." The seizure of a small island would mark a dangerous escalation and force the US to define what is still officially a policy of "strategic ambiguity" towards China's sabre-rattling. By next week, Washington should have two naval battle groups, led by the nuclear powered carriers Nimitz and Independence, in the sea off Taiwan. Quemoy was at the centre of a confrontation in 1996 between Taipei and Beijing that also brought US carriers to the region. A reinforced garrison of up to 50,000 troops there is preparing to raise its combat preparedness to one level below that of imminent war, newspapers reported. China views the test of wills as an internal affair but the issue has mushroomed into a volatile international crisis. No side seems to want war

but the risk of accident or miscalculation grows daily. The US assistant secretary of state, Winston Lord, said the US naval deployment was a gesture "to reassure our friends in the area that we have a big stake in the stability and peace of that region." China takes a different view. "The United States should be careful that it doesn't send the wrong message to Taiwan authorities that it supports their splittist activities," the foreign ministry spokesman, Shen Guofang, said. "If that message were relayed to Taiwan, it would create real danger." In the run-up to Taiwan's first presidential election on

March 23, China's apparent aim is to put voters of President Lee Teng-hui, who is seen in Beijing as a closet champion of Taiwanese independence. The result seems to have been the opposite. The Hong Kong newspaper Ming Pao said yesterday that China planned to apply yet more pressure next week, with a new, bigger round of military exercises that would effectively blockade much of Taiwan. President Lee yesterday mocked "surrenderism" and vowed to stand firm. "There is only one thing that you must not change, and that is love of Taiwan." There is no sign of panic in

## Mullahs frown as Pakistanis get up and dance

Under Benazir Bhutto, discos, music and fashion are no longer taboo, writes Suzanne Goldenberg in Karachi

THE well-dressed woman leaned forward to tap the shoulder of one of the young people who had been driven into a heaving, sweating frenzy by the musicians on stage. "Your dancing is very sweet and refined, daughter, but why are you in the middle of all these men?" While parents disapprove and mullahs sputter with rage, Pakistan is undergoing a cultural revival. This week's concert by Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, who sings *qawals* (devotional music) and has collaborated with Peter Gabriel, was one of 18 gala events to celebrate the cricket World Cup — and announce the return of dancers, pop musicians, folk singers and fashion designers from the cultural wilderness. All the events have been broadcast on state-controlled Pakistan Television, offering a potential audience of 75 million their first glimpse of activities that have been taboo since General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq imposed his version of Islamic dictatorship nearly 20 years ago. "Dance was looked on as revolutionary and un-Islamic. We failed to recognise our own classical dance because we felt it came from India," said Nighat Chaudhry, Pakistan's leading exponent of *kashk* classical dance, who gave the first televised performance. "It was stifling. It was a real struggle to perform." But the atmosphere has been improving slowly since Benazir Bhutto returned as prime minister in 1993. Last year, the country's first 24-hour private radio station went on air trying to win over middle-class audiences that had long since switched off the dreary state-controlled network. FM100 plays a mix of Western and Pakistani music, punctuated by phone-ins; there is no news. FM100's current number

one, by Lahore singer Abrar, is Let's All Go to Billo's House, complete with nudgenudge lyrics along the lines of get your tickets, boys, and wait your turn. Which is another country from the experience of Salman Ahmed when he performed his patriotic song My Heart is Pakistani on TV seven years ago. "There was this huge hullabaloo. My friends told me: 'Don't go out in public or they will shoot you.' Some mullahs smashed up television sets," Mr Ahmed recalled. Music-haters have been vocal this time around too. The Jamaat-Islami leader, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, issued a fatwa against the World Cup television specials — "a conspiracy of the Zionist-Hindu lobby" — and accused the government of promoting obscenity. In the upper house, Islamist senator Maulana Samiul Haq called the director of Pakistan Television a harlot who was turning the country into a brothel: "Showing young girls and boys dancing and twisting together goes against Islam" wrote letters to the newspapers blaming the programmes for weakening the resolve of Pakistani cricketers before they were knocked out of the quarter finals. The director, Ra'ana Shaikh, is undaunted. "It is an outlet for young people," she said. "For a nation to be complete, culture is as essential as food or religion." But Ms Shaikh's glasnost has done little for the former cricketer Imran Khan, who has been banned from state-controlled television even during the World Cup. Freedom still has its limits. Ms Chaudhry has been advised not to wear the traditional *ghungroos*, or anklets of bells, for her television performances because they are

seen as too daring, a reminder of courtesans. She and others reject the idea that music and dance are un-Islamic. "Zia's form of Islam had nothing to do with his way of governing," said Mr Ahmed, now a guitarist in the rock group Junoon. Adjusting to the new freedom is proving complicated. "During the Zia years we became indoctrinated to the extent that we started censoring ourselves," said magazine editor Fifi Haroon, a former singer and fashion stylist. Although religious parties have only a smattering of seats in parliament, they have a disproportionate influence. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan said earlier this month that non-Muslims and women continue to suffer discrimination on religious lines. "You have pockets of open society and then a lot of deeply conservative people," said Ms Haroon. "Benazir treads a thin line. Everytime there is a backlash, she makes a conservative statement to prove she is a true Muslim woman."

### News in brief

- UN report damns Sudan**  
A United Nations report yesterday accused Sudanese authorities of rampant human rights violations, ranging from executions and systematic torture to tacit encouragement of slavery, kidnappings, rape and child trafficking. — AP.
- Magistrate held**  
Rome's chief examining magistrate was arrested in an anti-corruption investigation launched by Milan's "clean hands" prosecutors. Renato Squillante, aged 52, was arrested at dawn and his offices were searched. — Reuter.
- Women freed**  
Kidnappers yesterday freed a German and a Swiss woman who were abducted in northern Costa Rica more than two months ago and held for a \$1 million ransom. — Reuter.
- Hippo kills tourist**  
One person drowned and one was injured after a hippopotamus capsized a canoe carrying French and German tourists on the Zambezi river, Zimbabwe tour leaders said. — Reuter.

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# Uneasy alliance faces criticism on human rights Parliament backs Turkish coalition

Chris Nuttall  
in Ankara

**T**HE new centre-right coalition government in Turkey won a vote of confidence in parliament yesterday. But it faces strong opposition at home to a rapid privatisation programme, and increasing criticism from abroad on human rights.

The Motherland-True Path coalition won easily by 257 votes to 207, with 80 abstentions. "I am grateful to parliament for expressing confidence in our 58th Republican government," said the new prime minister, Mesut Yilmaz, leader of the Motherland Party. "With this result, Turkish democracy has overcome a difficult test."

He was congratulated first, with kisses on both cheeks, by Necmettin Erbakan of the main opposition Welfare Party, then by his coalition partner, Tansu Ciller of the True Path Party. But the smiles were not expected to last long.

Mr Erbakan feels he and the electorate were cheated when Welfare won most votes in the December general election but was denied a share of power. Its radical Islamic policies were seen as a threat to the principles of the republic

established by Kemal Ataturk in the 1920s and the other four, avowedly secular, parties in parliament rejected its coalition overtures.

His 158 MPs form the biggest bloc in parliament and will give the government a rough ride.

There is already tension within the coalition. Mrs Ciller feels she was pressured into stepping down as prime minister to make possible the centre-right coalition demanded by the media, the business community and, apparently, the armed forces.

Personal differences between herself and Mr Yilmaz had blocked previous efforts to come together during 10 weeks of negotiations following the election. Mrs Ciller will now retire to the backbenches until it becomes her turn to be prime minister at the end of the year, under the first rotational arrangement in Turkish history.

But the government may not survive that long. It is 15 seats short of an overall majority and won the confidence vote comfortably only because of the tacit support of MPs of the Democratic Left Party, who abstained. Their leader, Bulent Ecevit, has warned that from now on the coalition is on its own. "Our party has no debt or link to the government," he said.

It will vote against government proposals to speed up the privatisation of state industries and may oppose the renewal of the mandate for Operation Provda Comfort, the US-led mission protecting the Kurds of northern Iraq with an air umbrella, which expires at the end of this month.

Mr Yilmaz has abolished the post of human rights minister in the government and the subject received no mention in his programme. There has already been international criticism of an apparent tightening of laws limiting freedom of expression.

Turkey's best-known author, Yasar Kernal, received a 20-month suspended sentence last week for an article he wrote on the Kurdish problem. Ninety-eight intellectuals will appear in court today on similar charges of spreading separatist propaganda.

As the vote of confidence was being taken, human rights activists were besieging a court near the western city of Izmir, where 18 teenagers, aged between 14 and 18, were being tried for membership of an extreme left organisation. Girls and boys among them have said they were stripped, beaten, sexually abused and given electric shocks while in custody.

# World leaders fly in for four-hour summit

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

**I**T may not be an effective way to counter terrorism, but today's 27-country summit in Egypt will at least be brief.

The presidents, kings, prime ministers and other officials will have just four hours to discuss political violence and the Middle East peace process in Sharm el-Sheikh before putting their names to a declaration which has been agreed.

President Bill Clinton will fly in today. He will be joined by the Israeli prime minister, Shimon Peres, the Palestinian president, Yasser Arafat, and other leaders including Boris Yeltsin, Jacques Chirac, Helmut Kohl, and John Major.

Morocco, Jordan, all the Gulf countries, and of course, Egypt will also attend. Syria and Lebanon are boycotting the summit because, they say, it is too narrow in scope. Iran is expected to be a prime target of the final communiqué, has dismissed the sum-

mit as a US and Israeli ploy to divert attention from Palestinian grievances.

Last night, in a surprise move, a Libyan minister arrived in Cairo en route for Sharm el-Sheikh. Diplomats said that Jomaa al-Fezwani would deliver a message to President Hosni Mubarak.

The Libyan news agency Jana said yesterday: "Vital Arab issues are being horribly abused for the sake of the electoral victory of their enemies."

President Clinton and Mr Peres hope that the summit will boost their re-election chances. Mr Peres in particular is desperate for a diplomatic triumph to balance the disastrous effect on his opinion poll ratings of eight days of suicide bombings which claimed 62 lives.

Mr Peres has described the summit as "a very impressive show of solidarity with Israel" and his government has stressed the potential value of international joint action against Islamist extremists.

In Jordan yesterday, the

foreign minister, Ehud Barak, called for summit action, as well as words. "We do believe that Sharm el-Sheikh is important not only for its political significance and symbolic value, but in terms of the concrete results and the mechanisms to ensure concrete action for the future in many areas," he said.

The popular mood in Israel was better summed up by Brigadier General Yaakov Amidror, a military intelligence officer, who reportedly told a Knesset (parliament) committee that in his opinion the summit would not produce significant results.

"Anyone who expects practical results from the conference is naive," he said.

Le Monde (Paris) adds: Britain, meanwhile, said yesterday it would do everything it could to help fight terrorism. "We will do all within our power to help combat the terrorists, in co-operation with the Israeli and Palestinian authorities," said Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, said.



Cheering sight... A Bosnian Muslim celebrates the arrival in Iidza yesterday of police from the Bosnian Croat-Muslim Federation

# Refugees flood back to gutted suburb

As the Bosnian flag flies over Iidza, some Muslims are ready for reconciliation with former Serb foes. Julian Berger reports

**T**HE main road out of Sarajevo was jammed yesterday with thousands of refugees driving or walking across old siege lines to find what was left of their homes in the outlying town of Iidza, after four years of war and Serb separatist occupation.

The column of cars and pedestrians stretched for more than a mile from the western edge of the city to the centre of Iidza, a keystone of the 43-month Sarajevo siege which Bosnian Serb police relinquished on Monday.

A crowd of returning refugees cheered as the Bosnian flag was raised over the police station, but the atmosphere cooled as many found their homes gutted after a campaign of looting and burning immediately preceding the Serb withdrawal.

Nato claimed yesterday to have curbed destruction and the occupants and the suburbs by substantially increasing its patrols — reversing

an estimated 2,000 Serbs remained in Iidza — far more than in the other three suburbs handed over to the Muslim-Croat Federation, but less than 10 per cent of Iidza's Serb population when the Bosnian peace accord was signed in December.

"Iidza in a way was a failure because a lot of people have left and a lot of people have been intimidated into leaving," said Kris Janowski, a spokesman for the United Nations refugee agency, UNHCR. "A lot of property has been destroyed and a lot of money went to waste."

Hasan and Raba Bajramovic were relatively lucky. They walked up the stairs of their old apartment block expecting to find their flat a burnt-out shell like those of many of their neighbours.

Raba was weeping and could hardly bear to look past their front door, but Hasan strove in and shouted with pleasure at finding an old pair of spectacles he had left behind in May 1992 when they fled into the city.

The furniture had all been taken by the Serb's wartime occupants and the plumbing had been wrenched out. But his specs were still

there and this seemed to put Hasan into a reconciliatory mood.

"It was a war," he said. "War always brings certain things with it. I don't even think of hating the Serbs. Whoever stayed on, let them stay."

Huso Mostarac, another returning Muslim, said he would be prepared to live once more with his former

The return to Iidza was further soured by a row between Croat and Muslim police, illustrating growing rifts within the fragile federation. Nine Croat policemen arrived in Sarajevo yesterday to take part in a joint Iidza force, but their Muslim counterparts reneged on a UN-brokered agreement to let them wear their own uniforms.

Nato reported rising tension between Croats and Muslims throughout the country, and Admiral Smith warned yesterday that "the federation is in trouble".

The United States war crimes investigator, John Shattuck, said yesterday he believed Belgrade would hand over to the UN tribunal two suspects held on suspicion of having committed atrocities in the Srebrenica enclave last year.

Mr Shattuck was speaking after meeting Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. He also visited the two suspects, Radoslav Kremenovic and Drazen Erdemovic, who were arrested on March 3.

Other returning refugees have been less willing to bury wartime differences. Alexander Ivanko, the spokesman for the UN police force, said his office had received dozens of reports of harassment of Serbs by people returning to the suburbs. The UN stressed that the federation police were behaving correctly.

## News in brief

### Mexican governor forced to step down over massacre

**T**HE governor of the Mexican state of Guerrero, Rubén Figueroa, has been forced to step down over the massacre last June by local police of 17 peasants, despite being cleared earlier this month by a prosecutor who had himself appointed, writes Phil Gannon in Mexico City.

The opposition Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) had consistently demanded his resignation, and on Monday threatened to withdraw from talks on political reform unless he was removed from office.

The PRD's president, Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, called for Mr Figueroa to be confined to Mexico while the supreme court considered the case.

Political pressure led the government to refer the case to the court despite the special prosecutor's conclusions.

### Auschwitz plan strains ties

**P**lans by Polish and German developers to open a shopping centre opposite the Nazi death-camp Auschwitz could strain relations between Israel and Poland, writes Matthew Brazzinski in Warsaw.

Yesterday, the speaker of Israel's parliament, Shevah Weiss, called on Poland's president, Aleksander Kwasniewski, to block the project.

# Bullets fly as Crete swaps tourism for gun-running

Many islanders are dying in squabbles and accidents, writes Helena Smith in Chania

**S**TRAIT-BACKED ta-verna-owners hope the question over a glass of raki. "Do you know anyone who would like to buy a Kalashnikov? It is a very good weapon — I've just got another, you see."

Across Crete, guns are changing hands at a rate with which only the most industrious can keep pace.

Night and day, the rugged hills of Greece's popular but unruly island ring to the rat-a-tat-tat of gunfire. Bullet-ridden road signs and windows testify to a mania.

Alongside the cultivation of hashish, weapons-smuggling has reportedly become the single most profitable business on Crete. In recent years, many say, it has made up for the island's drop in tourism.

The Crete's boom in weapons — I've just got another, you see — is a very good weapon — I've just got another, you see.

At least one in two families on the island is thought to possess a gun illegally. What's more, many have the latest in combat weaponry.

"When we were ruled by outsiders, and especially during the Turkish occupation, Cretans saw guns as being absolutely essential for their survival," says Yannis Geredakis, who edits the leading local daily, the Chaniot News.

Almost every month, the paper reports the death or injury of an islander who has been accidentally shot at a festa where gunfire is seen as a crucial part of the celebrations. "Marriages and baptisms are often turned into funerals," sighed Mr Geredakis, who has written a stream of editorials denouncing the phenomenon.

Cretans have begun, with increasing regularity, to fire on each other in quarrels over land disputes and sheep-rustling.

The love of arms is not confined to the highlands, where villagers have long shown contempt for the law. Around the elegant Venetian port harbour of Chania, shops trade in imitation hand grenades, air pistols and hunting rifles. Those willing to invest in the real thing need only venture into the bars and

tavernas in the town's backstreets.

Recently there have been shoot-outs between rival arms dealers in the town. Foreigners and locals attempting to smuggle in weapons, explosives and bullets have also been arrested. Police say most of the arms are brought in by ferry boats from Italy, although some have made their way down from the former Yugoslavia.

"We've tightened up security at all our ports and airports and even invested in specially trained dogs from Britain," said a senior police officer in Chania.

Schoolchildren receive lectures on the perils of gun culture and video cameras have been installed in big entertainment halls where gun fights often break out.

The measures were adopted after an amnesty fell on stony ground. "Only one man came forward and handed us an ancient pistol," the officer said, shaking his head ruefully.

# Twin babies die in Israeli siege

Jessica Berry in Ramallah

**T**HE Israeli blockade of the West Bank and Gaza Strip claimed two more lives yesterday — a mother and her twins, apparently died when their ambulance was delayed at a military checkpoint.

The mother gave birth to the second baby in the ambulance, according to a Palestinian source. Long queues at an Israeli military checkpoint prevented the vehicle from passing, the source said.

The Israeli army last night confirmed the deaths. On Monday, a 21-day-old boy died when his ambulance was prevented from crossing an Israeli military checkpoint. An elderly woman died after she was forced to wait for five hours in her ambulance at the Gaza checkpoint. Israeli authorities said ambulances had snugged weapons in the past and therefore had to be inspected.

Mustafa Barghouti, president of the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees, said the blockade had paralysed health services. "Emergency facilities are completely inaccessible to the majority of the population," he said. An Israeli consignment of emer-

gency medical and food supplies into Gaza yesterday is unlikely to cure the misery for long.

Eight cities and 465 towns and villages have been completely cut off from another by the blockade. In Gaza, Israel has blocked the sea and forbidden fishing, Gaza's principal livelihood.

"Each village is separated, like an independent country," said Radwan Yasia, a teacher in the West Bank town of Ramallah, who has been unable to get to his classes in Jerusalem for two weeks.

The military blockade is Israel's collective punishment against Hamas, a suicide bomb attacks that have killed 62 people in the last two weeks.

"The closure is to punish people only; there is no security benefit [to Israel]," the chief Fatah leader in Ramallah, Marwan Barghouti, said yesterday.

Fifty-three Europeans, Americans and Canadians said yesterday they had been unable to leave the Gaza Strip for the past week because of the blockade. Diana Mackintosh, an English teacher from London, said the only foreigners allowed to leave or enter the strip were diplomats, journalists and United Nations workers.

# UN monitor says Iraqi arms checks will continue

Ian Black  
Diplomatic Editor

**U**N monitoring of Iraqi weapons programmes may have to continue for another 18 to 20 years, according to Rolf Ekenskjold, head of the United Nations Special Commission, Unscsm.

Mr Ekenskjold told a conference in London that only the close involvement of the UN Security Council had finally forced a teacher in the after two recent stand-offs involving weapons inspectors.

"We are very concerned that these incidents could form part of a pattern," he said. "They also demonstrate something odd and disturbing that five years after the ceasefire Iraq still considers it of value to keep alive the option of weapons of mass destruction."

On Monday Baghdad temporarily banned UN inspectors from checking a site for documents and materials, fueling suspicions that the Iraqis might be trying to move or destroy incriminating evidence.

After an 11-hour wait, the team was finally allowed into the installation near Baghdad, which Iraq said was a Presidential Guard training centre. Last Friday it was barred for 18 hours from searching what Iraq said was its irrigation ministry.

## No joke

The head of France's private TF1 television station, Patrick

## FBI lures spies and stool-pigeons

The FBI has found a cunning way of rooting out foreign spies in America — it advertises for them, writes Ian Katz in New York.

The bureau recently placed adverts in two Vietnamese language newspapers in the United States, seeking to contact "those who had worked

**Though Mae West wrote her own screenplays and virtually directed her films, we recall her less as a skilled comic than as an overblown caricature, a walking, talking version of the wartime inflatable life preserver named after her.**  
Marybeth Hamilton  
**G2 page 8**

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A modest vision of Europe

A sensible enough white paper: now for the hard bit

THE government's European white paper is a more sensible document than seemed possible not long ago, and it enjoyed a tolerably smooth parliamentary baptism yesterday. A year ago, when the European intergovernmental conference seemed likely to overshadow domestic politics, the balancing act which Malcolm Rifkind performed yesterday would have been harder. His document's peaceful reception would have been more difficult to bring off too. But as the general election has neared, the Conservative mood has become more disciplined. The context of European events has favoured the sceptical British stance too. It has all added up to an opportunity, which Mr Rifkind has skillfully taken, to launch a generally constructive IGC policy without having it instantly consumed in the Tory Party's internal European frenzy. Mr Rifkind's document is unmistakably pro-European. It states without qualification that "The United Kingdom's role as a leading member of the European Union is vital to our national interest". Economically, the EU is "central to our success". Politically, it is "the basis upon which we must consolidate democracy and prosperity across the whole of Europe". In the Commons yesterday, Mr Rifkind said that Britain wants to be at the heart of the debate about the EU "because it is our future". The white paper is full of ifs and buts on point after point, yet the document and its presentation press forward in one direction only - a direction to which a significant minority of the parliamentary Conservative Party and a rather larger part of the party in the country are now obsessively opposed. For the Europhobes who pressed for this white paper to be published it is a profound snub. The foreign secretary held the line in the Commons yesterday, but there are plenty of reasons for thinking that the

difficult part starts now. The most important of these is the power of unplanned events to rupture even the plastic prose of the Foreign Office's finest drafters. The white paper offers a robust (Mr Rifkind's overused word) defence of the European Court of Justice, but yesterday's Court decision on working hours shows how easily this institution can grab the political agenda away from the politicians. The decision embodies a problem which the white paper seeks to gloss over and, since the Conservative Right are paranoid about the ECJ, and the likelihood is that the Court's role will not be significantly altered in the IGC negotiations, it is one that will not go away. The danger of the white paper is that it is an exercise in national self-deception. It paints a vision of the European project which makes current terms in British domestic political sense (providing that there is no huge Eurosceptic revolt) but which is hard to recognize elsewhere within the EU. Few other governments have to propitiate large Eurosceptical wings in their own parties. Few other countries are as troubled by the issues at stake in the IGC. Few support the same "partnership of nations" philosophy of Europe as the Conservatives. Mr Rifkind may have managed to unite the Conservative Party for a time. He may even have secured general all-party support for many of his proposals (Robin Cook was notably low-key in his response yesterday). But he has not won the argument in the rest of Europe, where they see things very differently. Once the talking starts at Turin later this month, the picture painted in the white paper will get a lot messier. Tory MPs may be willing to give Mr Rifkind his day yesterday, but there are rough times still to come over Europe, many of them on issues which are not even covered by the white paper.



Letters to the Editor

An outcome of incomes

WHAT a refreshing change it was to read John Grieve Smith's well argued case for incomes policy (Coming in on the money, March 11). He is absolutely correct to point out that there is simply no serious alternative to a renewed attempt by an incoming Labour Government to try to establish a rational and rounded incomes policy if that Government is to have a hope of tackling the unemployment crisis. No doubt the country needs to be reminded that the incomes policies of previous Labour governments - dating back to Sir Stafford Cripps' post-war first attempt to combine a pay policy with full employment - were all far more effective than temporary critics would have us believe. Indeed, even the last attempt at incomes policy during the Wilson-Callaghan years, 1974-75, in the shape of the Social Contract, was much more successful for a time than is now acknowledged. It broke down in 1978 following the Government's ill-advised attempt to impose a further 5 per cent norm after three years of quite remarkable achievement by

the trade unions in their bid to help the Labour Government. The fact is that the Callaghan government expected too much to be delivered by a trade union leadership whose authority was already under severe strain. To be sure, there were strokes of judgement on the part of both the unions and Labour Ministers. But far too little credit has been given, especially to the trade union leadership at that time, for the efforts and the achievements in the three years before the dreaded Winter of Discontent. Of course, it is an exceptionally difficult road to tread: an incomes policy, to have any chance of success in modern times, must cover the broadest range of social and economic policy. But surely it is time to re-think the strategy and relevance of incomes policy and John Grieve Smith's proposal of a forum of Government and the two sides of industry, though not a new idea - it is well worth exploring. Geoffrey Goodman, Head of Labour Government's Counter Inflation Unit (1975-1976), 64 Flower Lane, London NW7 2JL.

Flick through history shows the past catching up with the present

THE statement that Flick has an "entirely honourable present" (Leader, March 12) would surprise anyone familiar with the largest scandal of recent German history. In the 1970s, the firm channelled large sums of money, disguised as tax-deductible charitable donations, to several leading German politicians in order to secure massive tax breaks on the sale of shares in American firms. Dr Friedrich Karl Flick could not be shown to have ordered these transactions and was not charged, but the firm undoubtedly benefited from them, and its managing director Eberhard von Brauchitsch was sentenced to a term of imprisonment in 1987. As was noted at the time, the payments were in line with the traditions of the house, which had given money to Stresemann and others in the 1920s and to Goering in the 1930s. As in its use of slave labour from 1939 to 1945, its resistance to compensation for surviving slaves after the war, and its misuse of tax-deductible donations to secure political influence, the firm was not unique. But there's still a difference between being entirely normal and being entirely honourable. (Prof) Timothy Reuter, 31 Spring Crescent, Southampton SO17 2FZ.

Difficulties with boys

MARK LAWSON'S piece on my Amis diaries (A book of privacy, March 12) may give the impression that I started a journal solely to record the last weeks of Sir Kingsley Amis's life. In fact, I started it months earlier, when Kingsley proposed we do a book together based on taped recordings of conversations. The diary was intended to flesh out the tapes, since Kingsley was as likely to say or do interesting things when the tapes were off as on. Nobody is sadder than I that my diary turned into a record of Kingsley's dying. The current unpleasantness between Martin Amis and myself over the diary might have been avoided if he had taken the trouble to answer a letter I wrote him in January, in which I asked what I should say if people inquired why I

was no longer editing his father's letters. But perhaps he could not think of a plausible way of explaining why he started a journal solely to record the last weeks of Sir Kingsley Amis's life. In fact, I started it months earlier, when Kingsley proposed we do a book together based on taped recordings of conversations. The diary was intended to flesh out the tapes, since Kingsley was as likely to say or do interesting things when the tapes were off as on. Nobody is sadder than I that my diary turned into a record of Kingsley's dying. The current unpleasantness between Martin Amis and myself over the diary might have been avoided if he had taken the trouble to answer a letter I wrote him in January, in which I asked what I should say if people inquired why I

Still a murky shade of green

Sustainable development in the UK remains a pipedream

WATER is getting cleaner, acid rain has been reduced and noxious power station emissions have fallen substantially according to the first "green audit" of sustainable development published yesterday. The Government undoubtedly deserves credit for deciding to release 120 environmental indicators to enable people in government and industry as well as the general public to assess progress made since the commitments made at the Earth Summit in 1992. These indicators will act as a continuous pressure for environmental improvement. As John Gummer, the Environment Secretary said yesterday, our economy must grow in a way which does not cheat on our children. The trouble with the audit is that it is cheating a bit with itself. Sad to say, most of the major improvements in sustainable development have either been inadvertent or forced on the Government by EU legislation. Thus the welcome improvements to the quality of freshwater and the sea were imposed by the European Commission. Emissions of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxides from power stations have fallen by around 30 per cent since 1970, great. But this is mainly because of EU directives and pressure from European countries which suffered from the fall-out while much of the rest was the unintended consequence of running down the coal industry. This led to the accelerated closure of pits and led to the construction of cleaner power stations through the so-called "dash-for-gas". In

the countryside there has been a welcome 33 per cent increase in the amount of land covered by forests, but hedgerows are still being lost at the rate of 18,000 km every year. In areas where the Government had it in its power to change things - like energy and pollution from cars - the situation has got dramatically worse. The economy as a whole has, commendably, become much more fuel efficient since the huge increase in world oil prices in the 1970s. This is reflected in the fact that UK energy consumption has remained constant since then while the whole economy (gross domestic product) has expanded by 60 per cent. But the cost of motoring has actually fallen in real terms by nearly 2 per cent since 1974 while bus fares have shot up by 55 per cent and rail fares by 71 per cent. Small wonder that our cities are becoming so congested. Millions of commuters now travel to work singly in cars, much of the time sitting still in traffic jams, instead of sharing a bus or train and using less fuel each per mile. As a result, amazingly, we actually travel far less for each gallon of petrol than we did in 1970 despite vast improvements in fuel efficiency. It would be extremely surprising if privatisation of the railways leads to sharp price reductions so, unless the Government attacks the motorist head on in an election year, sustainable development here will remain a pipedream. As the late Patrick Hutter remarked: progress brings deterioration.

Fraud squad

HARINGEY'S findings are far more alarming than your report suggests (Huge rent rises loom as benefit payments cut, March 12). Voters in Haringey have every reason to be proud that their council has been at the forefront of a campaign against what is serious criminal fraud. This fraud - in the housing benefit system - is massive and conducted largely by landlords and their agents. It is not Haringey who should be pilloried, but those boroughs who do next to nothing to combat the large-scale financial fraud of the benefit system. The Social Security Select Committee will be highlighting these boroughs in its next report. Haringey is surveying every landlord who has more than 30 payments of housing benefit made direct into his or her bank account. I cited the survey of the first 16 such landlords. More than \$2.8 million has been paid to these 16 individuals of this. \$1.2m million had been fraudulently claimed. Amongst this group are housing benefit millionaires. In landlords who gain \$1million or more a year in housing benefit payments. Following pressure from the Select Committee, the Government has announced a new drive against fraud. In his statement the Secretary of State appeared obsessed with claimant fraud. Such fraud is wrong. But the point of Monday's debate was that, with limited resources at any one time to fight fraud, it was in the taxpayers' interests that these resources were used most effectively, ie against landlord housing benefit fraud. Frank Field MP, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA.



Our trends in the north

PAUL FOOT'S excellent appraisal of the equally excellent Our Friends in The North misses one subtle nuance of the corrupt socialism upon which much of the drama has been constructed: a grip (Friends I am missing already, March 11). He describes John Poulson as a builder; the story has the Labour councillor conspiring with a Tory builder. The reality was more sordid. Poulson was an architect, a contemporary and brother-in-arms of such paragons as Sir Richard Rogers and Sir Norman Foster. Post-Thatcher morality has architecture ducking and diving for a living with the rest of business, but in the sixties professional standards were still mercilessly imposed. The involvement of John Poulson in the scandals of the period sent a shudder of distrust and revulsion through the profession from which many believe it has never recovered. Brian Green, Mistisote Farm, Wellingham, Cambridge CB4 5JF.

Filling you in

YOUR report (Dentists drop 1 million patients, March 12) does not reflect the true situation. In England today, there are nearly 26 million patients registered with NHS dentists. Allowing for the improvement in Dental Board procedures to remove duplicate registrations and the annual roll-off of children, total registrations are broadly in line with the July 1, 1992 figures. The claim that one patient is deregistered every two minutes is meaningless because it takes no account of registrations. Gerald Malone, Minister for Health, Richmond House, 79 Whitehall, London SW1A 2NS.

Not guilty

YOUR report on Caroline Beale's repatriation included the words "that led her to kill her child" (Jailed mother back home, March 9). This is wrong. A large body of international experts on pathology and psychiatry were ready to testify in her defence. All agreed she was suffering from a psychiatric illness. There was no evidence of an unnatural death. If the case had come to trial, we feel confident she would have been acquitted. Ian Brockington, Professor of Psychiatry, University of Birmingham. John Emery, Emeritus Professor of Paediatric Pathology, University of Sheffield.

A Country Diary

TAMAR VALLEY: Days are lengthening fast and the light is increasingly bright across drab pastures. The first daffodils include double lent lilies with brilliant yellow, fat buds, streaked with green, and growing on short stems. These were once grown commercially and the dainty, vivid, flowers must have cheered thousands when their brief flowering season coincided with Mothering Sunday. They survive in only a few derelict market gardens where clumps of flowers poke up through flattened, shrivelled bracken fronds with rows of sturdy blue-green leaves and yellow buds discernible under arching brambles. An adjoining stand of later Helios shows tightly sheathed buds, still pointing skywards. Long-stemmed snowdrops were also cultivated, picked and bunched for market and full-out flowers spill and spread in drifts from the low hedgesbanks of tiny fields, shaded by sprawling hazels with ochre and brown-brown catkins. Mossy apple trees are covered with berries ivy,

as is the collapsed greenhouse surrounded by a solitary weak shoot of the delicious black dessert grape which was once so fruitful. Where bracken and brambles are shaded out by regenerating hazel blackthorn, willow and oak Heart's-tongue, ferns with winter-dulled leaves grow in leafmould scattered with empty nut shells and patches of primrose. This market garden, productive until the 1950s, was staked out with small leisure plots just over 50 years ago. Some were sold through adverts in the national press and those lucky enough to obtain the few reachable sites arrived with their tent or caravan for a few idyllic holidays. As the novelty wore off and the land became overgrown and more inaccessible, fewer returned. Only one flat patch, beside the track, is now visited regularly, the grass cut and bushes pared back. Across the stream, steep ground has reverted to woodland, the beneficiary of isolation and neglect by far-flung owners. VIRGINIA SPIERS

An unhappy counselling service

Relate and its President have split: a no-fault divorce?

IF there is one organisation which should not be embarrassed by a divorced patron it must surely be Relate, the marriage counselling service. If there is one organisation which should be sympathetic to a divorcing patron behaving in an aggrieved way, then surely it must be Relate. Many people going through the trauma of separation and divorce make wrong decisions. Hence this week's resignation of the President of Relate, Joanna Foster, because of reported remarks of senior Relate officers that they would not be inviting Princess Diana to functions in the coming months because of concern about her leaking details of her divorce negotiations, all makes sense. Above all else, counselling services must remain non-judgmental. But like many marriage break-ups, the facts are not quite as simple as they look. Relate claims the Sunday Times story is totally untrue. It would not be

the first charity to find itself misrepresented by that particular paper. Relate claims its comments were taken out of context - they were merely explaining there was no immediate plan to use Princess Diana because of her decision to withdraw from charity work. This quote was quite unjustifiably linked by the paper to the decision by the Princess to leak details of her divorce negotiations. Relate says this was a complete fabrication. There are two lessons which can be drawn: a need for robust rebuttals in a world in which there is so much media misrepresentation; and a review of its own internal communications. Why on earth did someone not get in touch with Joanna Foster and tell her the Sunday Times story was less than reliable? Relate should surely understand the importance of one-to-one communication to counter and control the damage which whispers, rumours and hearsay perpetrate.

Suicide reaches a critical mass

ASUICIDE is a personal tragedy, not a public controversy (Smells, bells and scandals, March 9). The monks at Ampleforth Abbey, the relatives and friends of Father Benjamin O'Sullivan, are still stunned by their loss. As a parent of a boy in the school, I wish that Maggie O'Keane had paid more than a fleeting visit to Ampleforth, and placed less reliance on unsubstantiated comments of some old boys. Had she been at mass in the Abbey church last Sunday, she might have understood a little better how a community of love, focused with humility on a loving God, can give mutual support in adversity. Helen Rose, De Freville Avenue, Cambridge CB4.

Middleton Farm, Wellingham, Cambridge CB4 5JF.

Ed Horton, Milton Road, Oxford OX4 4BU.



Diary  
Matthew Norman

SAD to relate, my friend Mandy Mandelson has been in the wars once again. First, he was cruelly teased by Patsy Prescott, who thrilled last week's Scottish Labour conference by confusing Mandy's new book with the Chinese satellite: "The fastest spin since the launch of my friend Peter Mandelson's book... this giant piece of junk," said Patsy, then clobbering the mirth by adding that he meant the satellite, not the book. With that would still raw, Mandy then had to fight off an attempt by a consumer spokesman Nigel Griffiths in his vital "rapid rebuttal" unit. "I am not," said Mandy imperiously, "having that man in my Millbank." The hatred goes back to the time when Mr Griffiths was a devotee of Gordon Brown — publicly savaged Mandy for beginning the Tony Blair campaign while John Smith's body was barely cold. This latest flare-up is odd, nonetheless, for it is hardly in character for Mandy to nurture a grudge.

DAILY Express's Cheryl-hunter Peter Hitchens calls to dispute my assertion that while an International Socialist, he wore a beard. He says he had no beard. I say he did. He says he didn't, and I rejoin that he did. He says he wore a beard and Plato de nos jours. "Look," he says quietly, "I had two beards in my life, and I know what a beard is. What I had in your photo is not a beard." It seems we will never agree — and so, in order that a

verdict be reached, I am compelled today to introduce a jury. I will ask you, The Jury. Call 0891 333 521 if you think this man has a beard. If, however, you find him beardless, dial 0891 333 522. Calls will cost no more than 10 pence, and lines will close at midnight.

UNIQUELY compelling reason to quit smoking comes from the pro-smoking pressure group Forest. It will ask you to consider the "week-end break" in Dorchester in May, and if the prospect of spending 48 hours marooned among these professional martyrs and pseudo-civil libertarians does not do the trick, consider this: the Saturday night gala dinner will be hosted by the gifted comedian Jack Douglas.

STILL feeling blue is my diaphragm, says a man who cites the prospect of publishing his book (Major Major, out in paperback in May) as one reason for the gloom. "Some shows are fine, but some try to make you look stupid," says Terry. "I've been asked on the Big Breakfast a few times, but how can you talk when they keep pushing those puppets in your face? Maybe I'm old fashioned," he continues, "but I do want to have fun." Richard Madely of Good Morning — he's married to Judy; she's a very nice lady — said I had a rather zany sense of humour. Terry pauses for thought. "The trouble," he adds, "is that there are so many fine lines in life, aren't there?" Upon this gnominically rhetorical note, we say farewell.

NEWSPAPER advert seeks people aged between 26-30 and keen to change careers, "who can rise to the challenge of the television equivalent of an MBA"; people with a craving for "unrivalled insight and experience in television production and broadcasting". The employer is Live TV, and the most attractive feature of the job is that, for the first year of an 18-month contract, the salary is £0.00. How on earth can the BBC hope to compete?

SHE PROVED SOME FRIENDS AND LIVED HAPPY EVER AFTER.

# The cost of going it alone in Europe

## Commentary Will Hutton

IT HAS become the new centre of gravity of British politics. Europe should be a partnership of nation states. The gains of 40 years of European integration should not be thrown away, certainly, and where there are grounds for friendly collaboration it should be undertaken. But the clock should not stop on anything more visionary.

concession from an administration beleaguered by Euroscepticism and now Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party. But the basic thrust remains an undying commitment to intergovernmentalism, the sanctity of the nation state's powers over defence and foreign policy, and the case against extending majority voting — a position that Robin Cook was careful not to oppose. He was as much for the nation state as his counterpart, while managing to open up some red water between Labour and the Government over employment and social legislation. But in truth there was not much more to go on: Labour has no intention of being labelled as Brussels' poodle, so that it is crucially important that the Government's position. That in turn draws its sting in the areas where it does want to criticise.

Yet Britain's political parties should be cautious about congratulating themselves on establishing a position which while selling the pass on the case for European integration is still sufficiently pro-European to inflame the ranks of the Eurosceptics — thus successfully pleasing nobody. For Europe, however reluctantly and unwanted, finds itself playing for very high stakes at the IGC. The notion, quietly promoted in the white paper, that "there may be areas in which it is perfectly healthy for some member states to integrate more

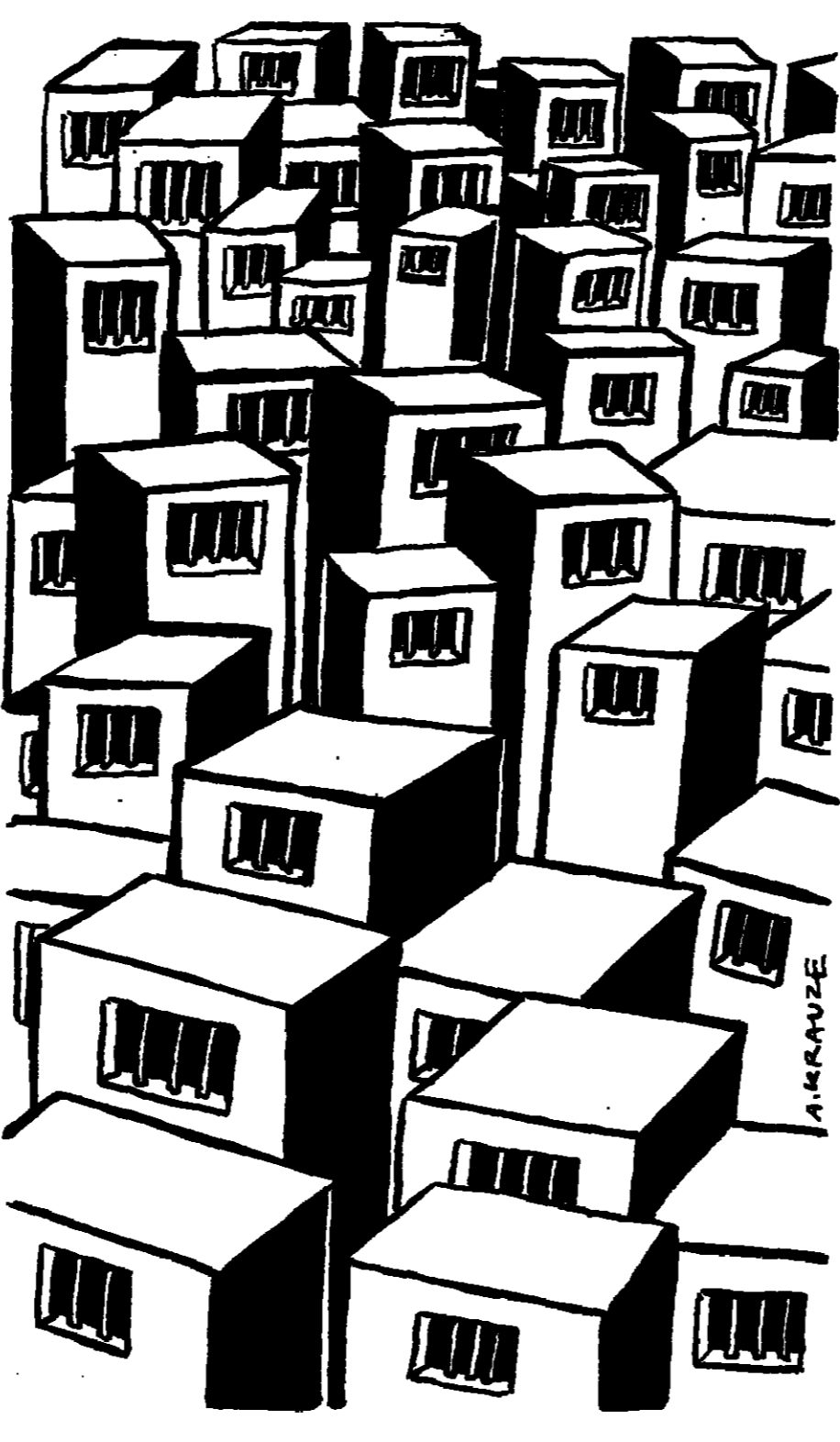
ter and the single currency, but in addition because of the nature of the convergence criteria for monetary union. It was never likely that every member of the EU would be able to qualify in 1999, and thus the beginning of multi-speed Europe was launched. The IGC, with Britain's connivance, will elevate it as the new principle around which Europe should be constructed.

is rather different from the British; it is not to turn back from political integration — rather it is to find ways of accelerating it.

# The US is at war with its own people, incarcerating the vanquished: but this is not the way to tackle crime — either there or in Britain, argues Andrew Rutherford

## Enemy behind bars

AS THE primary elections gather pace, Americans are being asked to look beyond the soundbites and platitudes and seriously consider crime and criminal justice. The Real War On Crime, the report of the independent National Criminal Justice Commission, has been one of those opportunities for people to reflect upon choices which have until now been largely obscured by the demagogic ratcheting of this key political issue. In particular, the Commission's quantitative focus on the number of people in prison.



hower Foundation (whose executive director, Lynn Curtis is a commission member) has estimated that \$30 billion is spent annually on the total spent annually on criminal justice) would be required each year over the next decade to revitalise urban areas across the nation.

But this experiment is far from new. A spate of recent federal and state criminal justice statutes reflecting notions such as "three strikes and you're out" and "truth in sentencing" are beginning to take effect. One independent research group has estimated that the combined impact of this recent legislation (together with one or two other initiatives) may well add a further six million to the total number in prison. It is no wonder that a leading Norwegian criminologist, Nils Christie (a commission member), has warned of the rapidly approaching American gulag. These developments have taken place in the virtual absence of principled debate and informed public discussion. Indeed, for elected officials, dissent around this issue is widely regarded as political suicide.

prison damages a person's mid-range response to the environment, leaving the choice of grinding one's teeth and enduring, or full-fledged attack to protect oneself from perceived danger."

But the report goes beyond a critique of imprisonment, and the commission has constructed a series of steps which lead to its "20/30 vision" of a safer and more humane society. These steps include: the war on drugs, which has had devastating collateral consequences, must be replaced with a policy of harm-reduction; fiscal impact statements should be a requirement of all criminal policy proposals; services for the victims of crime must be enhanced; racial and ethnic

bliases must be eliminated from the criminal justice process; all levels of government should create crime prevention councils charged with the duty of developing coordinated strategies which meet requirements; and a public-health approach should be developed to reduce the level of violence in America. As the director of the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention puts it: "Violence is the leading cause of lost life in this country today. If it's not a public health problem, why are all those people dying from it?"

The Real War On Crime insists that criminal policy must be shifted from an agenda of "war" to one of "peace". The commission firmly rejects the populist politics of exclusion which dominate American criminal policy. In its concluding words, the report states: "The enemy in this war is our own people. A war against the American people is a war that nobody can win. It brings hostility and division; it exhausts our resources and saps our moral strength. The goal is not to declare a war and win it, but to declare a peace and bring with it the terms for lasting reconciliation."

# Swings and roundabouts for statues



David McKie

OLD FRIENDS of Harold Wilson are angry at the suggestion that a statue to be erected in his honour in Huddersfield might be sited at the entry to a loading bay, on a multi-storey car park, or even aboard a bridge over the thunderous M62. Even political opponents agree such schemes are an insult: "If you are going to recognise a bloke for what he's done," says one Conservative, "it ought to be in St George's Square, where people can see."

"that was known as the Lionheart". It mystified me as a child what the Black Prince was doing in Leeds, a place which historians suggested never bothered him much in his lifetime. Officialdom explained at the time when they put him up (1903) that the prince was supposed to evoke chivalry, good government, the patronage of arts and education, the encouragement of industry, and democratic values. Precisely what the prince had done to embody democracy is another mystery.

This is all a little illogical in the sense that to have any force, an insult must be known to the insultee, and that hardly applies with statues, unless they're erected in the subject's lifetime, in which case they are mostly addressed to people shopping at Gamage's department store. Now all he salutes are the cars and buses and lorries which whirl about under his feet. Albert has become a statue in the eyes of the town. When the statue of Prince Albert on horseback was put up at Holborn Circus, he would have been raising his hat to that quarter's nobility and gentry. Later on the gesture would have been mostly addressed to people shopping at Gamage's department store. Now all he salutes are the cars and buses and lorries which whirl about under his feet. Albert has become a statue in the eyes of the town.

THE Black Prince is by Thomas Brock, who designed the Victoria Memorial outside Buckingham Palace (another roundabout), as well as her bust at Oxford and her statue at Hove. As a general rule, if you were any good you got asked to do Queen Victoria. Alfred Drury, created Viscount of Portsmouth and Bradford, there are said to be at least 150 Victorias in existence, discounting forgeries, of which 40 are in India. I gather there are plans to celebrate the millennium with a further crop of statues commemorating famous sons, like Marks and Spencer. I hope they will also find room for the Rev Charles Jenkins, its pioneering chairman of housing, and John Charles acolytes Morn and Even, did her at Portsmouth and Bradford. There are said to be at least 150 Victorias in existence, discounting forgeries, of which 40 are in India.

Advertisement for "How To Conquer Nine Out Of Ten Illnesses - Without Seeing A Doctor!!" by Dr Vernon Coleman. The text describes the book as a compilation of extraordinary snippets of information about the wondrous workings of our bodies, and a self-help manual for maintaining or regaining health using your own resources. It includes testimonials from various sources, such as "Don't miss it! Dr Coleman's theories could change your life..." and "Stimulating, outspoken and easy to understand". The advertisement concludes with contact information for Bodypower Sales Office GUS8 and a note that the book is published by the European Medical Journal.

10 OBITUARIES

Alison McCartney

Getting through together

WHEN Dr Alison McCartney, who has died aged 45, spoke at the Living with Breast Cancer conference last October she described not just the process of "getting through" advanced cancer but using her illness as a vehicle for change.



Alison McCartney... used her own illness as a vehicle for change

After visiting Spiegel in San Francisco and seeing some of the groups in action, Alison McCartney set about establishing a similar network of women in London.

When Alison McCartney was diagnosed with breast cancer in 1991, she was a 35-year-old single mother of two children.

Elman Ali Ahmed

Murdered in Mogadishu

MOGADISHU in the early nineties was a frightening place, volatile and unpredictable. But Elman Ali Ahmed seemed to have a charmed life: he was threatened, but never harmed; his workshops, packed with tens of thousands of dollars of equipment, were unlocked but never looted.

His enthusiasm was infectious, his message uncomplicated: we want peace

Elman turned to the UN for help, the receptionist told him. "You are not authorised to do this project. Disarmament is our job. But they have never disarmed anyone. They don't want any Somali to achieve anything. It is better they stay in the UN camp."

Lyle Talbot

Sincerely safe with schlock

IT IS difficult to know whether the screen career of Lyle Talbot, who has died aged 94, was sanctified or damned by his being associated with some of the worst American films ever made.

As it was made for Monogram, the tackiest of the Poverty Row studios. At the classic 20th Century Fox, Talbot was twice allowed aside by the heroine for Tyrone Power, first as Lorena Young's dull, conservative fiancé in Second Honey-moon (1937), who is pushed overboard and then towed out to sea by a sting ray, and in Second Fiddle (1938) as Sonja Henie's yokel swain.

lovers of grade two movies, Talbot moved into the world of Saturday morning kid's serials as Chic Carter, Detective (1948) over 15 cliffhanging episodes and as arch villain Lex Luther in Atom Man vs Superman (1950). He then played heavies in a couple of Jungle Jim adventures starring a safari-suited Johnny Weissmuller — he was by then too fleshy for a loincloth. It was in the early 1970s that Edward D Wood Jr



Lyle Talbot... a face born for B-movies

David Godwin

Life and liberty

DAVID Godwin, who has died aged 62, was a leading force in the struggle for civil liberties in Scotland. A former teacher, youth worker — no one but David would have taught fencing to Easterhouse gang members — factory worker and forester, he was a founder member of the Scottish Council for Civil Liberties in the late 1960s.

ances, at drawing in people who might otherwise have given civil liberties a wide berth over a particular issue. He was a tireless worker on individual cases, work he believed gave SCCL its moral authority; "Mr Godwin of the civil liberties" was a much sought after man.

Jackdaw



A la Carte

WHEN I WAS a child I adored the light operas of Gilbert and Sullivan — the Savoy Operas they are called, and my favourite was The Mikado.

were to see The Mikado. And if we clapped enough at the end of certain songs, the singer might be induced to perform an encore — or maybe if we were lucky he might perform more than one encore, and there might be different jokes in each. And these predictions turned out to be true. I was enchanted — with the sets, the costumes, the performances, the whole thing.

so that what I had seen as a child was a production dating back to 1885 upon which no one had been allowed to make anything more than the most marginal improvements. It was a matter of absolute ritual — for as long as the magic spell of the copyright lasted — that each generation would take its children to see what they had seen — productions which fall prey to such a necrotising tendency that, in the final years of the company, a friend of mine, accompanying a child one evening, actually heard one of the actors call out to another as he left the stage: "Well, love, mine's a double whiskey — what's yours?"

Mr Berman continues the struggle to hold on to his bar of soap in this correspondence with a London hotel, currently doing the rounds on e-mail. More soap stories tomorrow.

Granny mags

MY GRANNY was controlled by women's magazines. They told her what to wear, how to behave and how to make sure she didn't lose my grandpa. She says I am lucky I can even look at naked men if I want to. I told her I didn't want to but I would fetch one from the newsagents for her. During the 1950s my grandpa had a brief affair with a woman he met at the local tea-shop. But my granny wasn't worried. The magazine told her: "Men get these attacks like kiddies get measles... Let him have his fling and he'll come back a thousand times more in love with you than ever... It occurred to my granny that she should leave my grandpa... However, the magazines came down very harshly on women who entertained this idea: "You only have to go

into a restaurant, and note the strained, disatisfied look on the face of women feeding alone... The magazines finally began to lose their control over my granny after the war, when she became surplus to requirements and was urged back to the home. She was shown how to bake lovely cakes, how to keep her house beautiful and how to be eternally grateful that her man had returned safely from the war. Her work was unrec-



Do tell... Don't Tell It

Birthdays

Valerie Amos, former chief executive, Equal Opportunities Commission, 42; Lord (Gordon) Borrie QC, chairman, Labour's Commission on Social Justice, 68; Jane Bown, photographer, 71; Sir Michael Checkland, former director-general, BBC, 69; Lesley Collier, ballet dancer, 48; Marion Foale, fashion designer, 57; Lionel Friend, conductor, 51; Christopher Gable, actor, 56; Howell James, political secretary to the Prime Minister, 42; Dick Katz, jazz pianist, writer, 72; James Marshall, Labour MP, 58; Dr David Peace, glass engraver, 61; Air Commodore Helen Renton, former director, WRAF, 66; Neil Sedaka, 66; Peter Viggers, singer, 57; Sir Leo Stakis, hotelier, 62; Peter Viggers, Conservative MP, 58.

Death Notices

GREENWOOD, Leslie, aged 72 of Epsford, Kent, died peacefully on Saturday March 10. He was a highly respected Production Manager and Associate Producer for the film and television business. He leaves a devoted wife, four children and four grandchildren.

Acknowledgments

Grateful thanks to Saint Jude for postcard and to the staff of the hospital for their kind and efficient care.

To place your announcement telephone 0171 713 4667 Fax 0171 713 4126

Spammed

THE FIRST sign that something was wrong came Sunday afternoon, when I logged on to the Internet to check my e-mail and found that someone had enrolled me in a Barry Manilow fan club, a Mercedes-owners discussion group, a Fiji Islands appreciation society and 103 other Internet mailing lists I'd never heard of. I knew from experience that any one of these lists can generate 50 messages a day. To avoid a deluge of junk e-mail I painstakingly unsubscribed from all 106 — even Barry Manilow's — only to log on Monday morning and discover I'd been subscribed overnight to 1,700 more. My file of unread e-mail was growing by the minute.

Dan Glaister

Jackdaw wants your jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-713 4366; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Wall S... He fights f... ggest eve... fighter... ne contr... Bank shares... Mortgage ra...

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gadishu

Prudence set for big payout, page 12

Why working week won't change, page 12

Financial Editor: Alex Brummer  
Telephone: 0171-239-9610  
Fax: 0171-833-4456

# Finance Guardian

## Wall Street rollercoaster

### Recovery signs in US also bring renewed jitters

Mark Tran in New York and Paul Murphy

THESE were renewed tremors in the world's financial markets yesterday, another rollercoaster ride on Wall Street sending the Dow Jones share index almost 100 points lower at one stage.

Reflecting widespread confusion on the strength of the American economy and the course of interest rates, the Dow subsequently staged a sharp recovery. Losses on this key indicator had been wiped out by late afternoon in New York.

Earlier, panic selling saw the US long bond slump another almost 100 points, with the yield on this benchmark asset

up above 6.7 per cent, dragging share prices down. The recovery came after the stock market authorities in New York were forced to introduce a set of further curbs on trading to try to stop computer-generated "sell" orders spiralling out of control.

"We are dealing with a bond market that is extremely skittish and today we are seeing another significant push upwards in yields," reported Jim Solloway, a director of top US strategy house Angus Research.

"Stocks are still vulnerable to a correction as long as the bond market stays this way."

The Dow had fallen 171 points on Friday in the wake of news of a jump in job creation during February, showing the US economy to be much stronger than previ-

ously thought and leading analysts to scrap hopes of a further cut in US interest rates. While Monday saw a 110 point "recovery," this has proved shortlived.

The latest jitters in the American bond market were sparked by more evidence on the strength of the economic revival — particularly a report on retail sales from investment bank, Schroder Wertheim, showing consumer spending jumping unexpectedly last week. More authoritative data is due later this week, including inflation data.

Peter Cardillo, director of research at brokers Westfalia Investments, insisted American stocks still had another 3 per cent correction ahead of them. "This is just normal profit-taking after Monday's surge," he said.

In the City, traders reported a nervous session, although the bulk of the losses on Wall Street were only registered after the markets in London had closed. The FTSE 100 closed 35 points lower at 3639. London's share and bond strategists are confused by Wall Street, but remain wary.

"US treasuries and the Dow clearly haven't decided where they are going and we have seen an across-the-board markdown in response over here," noted Bob Sempke, boss of strategy at stock-brokers, NatWest Securities. "Interest rates may have stopped falling, but the fundamentals (such as a steady recovery in corporate earnings in Britain) should be enough to pull us through these jitters."

He said, although the US bond market may have further to fall, the sell-off there is not comparable with the rush to sell out of an "overblown" bond market as in the spring of 1994, when a sudden rise in interest rates caught the market by surprise. "We are seeing a process of consolidation rather than anything more sinister," he added.

The City is keenly awaiting industrial production and inflation figures on Thursday and Friday this week.

Trading curbs in operation in New York yesterday included the exoticly-named "sidcar." This involves all computer-generated trading orders being rerouted into a separate "basket". They are left to sit there for five minutes before being paired off with other trades.

### Notebook

#### Shedding light on BET shares riddle



Edited by Alex Brummer

THE failure of the City authorities to crack down on the use of "contracts for differences", after they were used by Swiss Bank Corporation in the original Trafalgar assault on Northern Electric in December 1994, has given market makers an excuse to ride roughshod over disclosure rules.

Advisers to BET, which is seeking to fend off a hostile \$1.8 billion bid from Rentokil, have discovered that by using contracts for differences, broadly the equivalent of an over-the-counter option, market makers in effect have put up to 8 per cent of BET stock into play.

BET advisers have issued a 212 disclosure notice against a Stock Exchange nominee account Sepon, which records the balances held by each market maker in BET stock. The reply to the notice shows that market makers have at their beck and call an astonishing 8 per cent of BET shares.

Under normal circumstances they would not be expected to carry more than 2 per cent. The biggest holder in Sepon is USS, which has some 36 million of the 78 million of loose BET shares on its hands, presumably on behalf of clients.

The assumption is that the 8 per cent is effectively controlled by arbitrageurs, like the US hedge funds who, by parking the shares with market makers using contracts for differences, avoid such inconveniences as paying stamp duty and having to disclose their role in the bid proceedings.

Under most circumstances such investors would have to pay half-a-per-cent stamp duty and make public any holding greater than 1 per cent. This sleight of hand by market makers and clients raises serious questions about transparency in a contested bid situation and may raise some questions for the revenue too. The authorities have a duty to speak out, and without delay.

eyes over some of the life sector mutuals.

The UK profits shortfall at Prudential is mainly covered by a phenomenal result from its US offshoot Jackson National Life, which specialises in the sale of single premium policies — although its sales appear to have peaked in the first quarter of last year and have been on a downward curve since. Moreover, it is unlikely to be helped by the rise in US bond yields.

Elsewhere, the Pru is making solid, if unspectacular, progress in Asia and has gained strongly on fund management, due to a turnaround in pension funds it manages and as a result of higher fee income.

The main focus for the future will be on its direct banking launch in the UK. This is positive in that it does not want to cede direct selling of mortgages and savings products to competitors like Direct Line and First Direct; but also negative in that it would like to recapture some of its maturing life policies and presumably is looking for new forms of distribution.

Meanwhile, existing shareholders can start to anticipate a nice little payout, should the DIT decide the Pru may divide its \$5 billion of orphan funds — unallocated investment surpluses — 90/10 among policyholders and shareholders.

## BAe fights for biggest ever US fighter plane contract

Martin Walker in Washington

BRITISH Aerospace will receive from the Pentagon this week the first indication of the chances of winning part of the biggest defence contract in history, to design and build up to 3,000 Anglo-American fighter-bombers.

The contract is worth up to \$1,000 billion (\$850 billion) for the winning contractor, BAE and its partners, McDonnell-Douglas and Northrop Grumman, are competing against Boeing and the new Lockheed-Martin defence group.

The Pentagon is poised to relax specifications for the so-called Joint Strike Fighter that will meet the widely different requirements of the US Air Force, US and Royal Navies, and the US Marine Corps.

Rolls-Royce is also vying for a share of the work. On Monday the aero-engine maker announced plans to team up with General Electric of the US to design and develop engines for the aircraft.

To save costs, the Pentagon has insisted that the aircraft be a small, agile fighter to replace the F-16, carry enough weaponry to replace the A-10 tankbuster, be sturdy enough to be slammed onto the decks of aircraft carriers, be able to land and take off vertically like a Sea Harrier, and have a bomb bay big enough to hold a 2,000lb missile. One more thing. It has to incorporate the new Stealth technology to make it invisible on radar.

All that for less than \$30 million for each aircraft. But the spare parts and export potential over an expected 30-year life span will take the total value of the contract up to \$1,000 billion.

Each of the three defence contractors has passed the Pentagon's first hurdle with a preliminary design that is claimed to meet the basic

requirements of range and performance. This week the Pentagon passes over the computer discs with its advanced specifications.

"It is the airplane programme of the century," according to Mickey Blackwell of Lockheed. "Winner takes all."

The three contractors will then refine their designs by next May, and then the Pentagon will pick two of them to build prototypes that will compete against one another. One final design will be chosen to go into production, and into service by the year 2005.

"The one of the three that gets excluded in next year's pick goes off to make aluminium storm doors," commented BAE's US spokesman, Phil Soucy. "It is not make or break for BAE, but a contract this side could mean corporate survival for some players."

The demand that the new plane be able to match the Harrier's vertical take off is a major advantage for the BAE team, led by McDonnell Douglas. BAE pioneered the concept of the Harrier, and McDonnell Douglas built the Americanised version for the US Marine Corps.

There is speculation throughout the industry that the ambitious project might be reassessed, amid doubts that the various roles and customers require too much from a single aircraft.

There are bitter memories of the swing-wing F-111, supposed to be a strike bomber for both US Navy and Air Force, which the Navy finally rejected and which never satisfied the Air Force.

The McDonnell-BAE version tries to improve its Stealth qualities by doing away with the tail, and relying on fly-by-wire computerised controls.

The Boeing version is designed to offer also a cheaper and unmanned \$15 million version which can be piloted from the ground.



Chief executive Bob Seelert says Cordiant will catch up with the competition after the loss of business in the turmoil of the Saatchi brothers' departure. PHOTOGRAPH: GARRY WEASER

## Ad agency Cordiant claims recovery from Saatchi split

Tony May

CORDIANT, the advertising group which owns the Saatchi & Saatchi and Bates Worldwide agencies, yesterday claimed to have regained financial stability despite being pushed into the red last year and admitting it still lags behind its competitors in key areas.

Charles Scott, the chairman, said a one-off charge for disposals and extraordinary costs of \$54.5 million had helped cause a loss of \$22.6 million for 1995 — in line with City forecasts — and a recovery to \$32.4 million a year earlier.

Bob Seelert, the chief executive appointed last summer after the departure of Maurice and Charles Saatchi triggered several top management changes, vowed to catch up with the competition.

Margins improved from 5.7 per cent to 6.4 per cent and should rise again this year. But, to catch up, Mr Seelert wants 10 per cent margins by the end of 1996 and, he said, about one-third of the improvement would come from cost control.

Revenue growth remains the key factor, though. For example, last year the group replaced \$40 million of lost revenue with new account gains.

However, competitors achieved composite revenue growth of 9.4 per cent, while Cordiant managed only 2.1 per cent. The group does not expect revenue in 1996 to be any higher than last year after allowing for the impact of disposals — although it does aim to pay a final dividend.

Mr Scott said that the trading environment was positive, with advertising markets around the world forecast to continue growing over the next three years.

He hailed the progress made in the last year, including the sale of the company's Campbell Mithum Esy advertising agency, and a successful rights issue which raised \$126 million to wipe out group debt.

## Bank shares sink as mortgage rates are cut

Teresa Hunter

EXPECTATIONS of an all-out mortgage war yesterday sent bank shares plummeting after Bradford & Bingley cut the cost of a key home loan to a 20-year low.

Britain's fifth-biggest building society lowered its standard mortgage rate to 6.99 per cent, following last week's 0.25 per cent reduction in base rates.

The B&B slashed to 5.99 per cent the rate charged on loans arranged over the telephone through its direct mortgage subsidiary. Mortgage rates below 6 per cent were last seen in the 1980s.

The prospect of ferocious competition for mortgages, and the banks' panic reaction, pushed Abbey National shares down by 21p to 534p. Lloyds TSB down 15.5p to 257p, Barclays down 25p to 289p and NatWest down 29p to 619p.

National & Provincial Building Society, soon to be

swallowed by the Abbey National, yesterday also cut its rate from 7.54 per cent to 7.29 per cent, reducing the monthly cost of a £90,000 mortgage by £3.58. Yorkshire Bank and Bristol & West cut rates to 7.25 per cent.

But B&B claims that its 5.99 per cent is the lowest on the market — although it is only available to borrowers with a 25 per cent deposit who are not already existing B&B borrowers. If undercuts Direct Line's 6.25 per cent rate.

A £90,000 repayment mortgage with B&B Mortgage Direct will cost 2970 monthly, compared with £411.55 with the Halifax.

B&B general manager John Wrigglesworth explained: "The mortgage market remains stagnant and the mortgage war will become ever more intense until activity revives. We are seeing signs of some small improvements — but it is from a very low base."

The Nationwide Building Society, which before the base rate cut had reduced its

rate to 6.99 per cent — in a bid to bolster its mutual status through distributing some profits to members — is expected to announce a further reduction shortly.

If it passes on the full 0.25 per cent reduction to its borrowers, its new rate will fall to 6.74 per cent, maintaining a rate a half a per cent lower than other major lenders.

Yorkshire Building Society is also planning to announce a mutualisation package for its members later this month.

But Bristol & West is tipped as the next society likely to abandon its mutual status. Speculation is mounting that the society may soon be put up for sale.

However, members of the public hoping to jump on the bandwagon will have to stump up £2,500 as a minimum deposit to open an account, in the hope of sharing any bonus bribes should the society be sold.

## Dons sting gold thieves

### DAN ATKINSON on a British development that relies on the yellow metal not being totally pure

LONG-RUNNING disputes involving billions of pounds worth of gold supposedly stolen by, among others, the Nazis, the KGB and Third World dictators could be settled once and for all by a British-pioneered device capable of "fingerprinting" samples of bullion.

The equipment can also be used to foil gold thieves attempting to smelt their booty in an attempt to hide its origin.

The laser mass spectrometer has been under development in Australia and South Africa, chiefly to prevent theft from individual gold mines.

A more advanced system available at the University of Durham may be used not only by police but by litigants in some of the biggest bullion disputes of the 20th century.

Accurate to one part per

trillion, the machine scans trace elements mixed in with the gold to identify the country and mine of origin. The university has offered its own system — so sensitive it can detect from a water sample the presence of a gold ring in a swimming pool — to Scotland's Yard and other agencies involved in the prosecution of gold thieves and bullion smugglers.

The police have "already shown active interest in the equipment we've got," according to Durham's Dr Grenville Holland.

In the longer term, individuals and governments pursuing claims for missing or stolen bullion will be able to put their allegations to the test.

In the past, proving the origin of a piece of gold has been extremely difficult; indeed, the very fact that gold is an anonymous, standard commodity allows it

to be traded around the world in homogenous lots. But this system, known as ICP-MS, makes gold far easier to distinguish.

South Africa's Chamber of Mines hopes to set up a "fingerprint file" which may eventually contain samples from every mine in the world. ICP-MS was pioneered in the late 1970s by a British scientist, Alan Gray, and was limited until very recently to specific types of scientific analysis.

For the British authorities, ICP-MS promises to turn up the heat on gold thieves and help break smuggling rings. On the wider stage, the system could be used in courts to settle gold feuds arising from revolutions and wars.

Among the best-known supposed gold hoards are those said to belong to the last of the czars, the Nazi party's inner circle and to former Philippines president Ferdinand Marcos. In turn, Marcos is thought to have claimed that his wealth originated in a bullion hoard left behind by the Japanese invaders in 1945.

## MGM sale proves a screen test for Credit Lyonnais

Mark Miller European Business Editor

CREDIT LYONNAIS' gamble is to be put to the ultimate test after its Hollywood film studio, MGM, was officially put up for sale in what is being billed as one of the decade's most glamorous corporate auctions.

Cash-strapped Credit Lyonnais has invested in turning out new films, like the latest James Bond movie, Golden Eye, and John Travolta's Get Shorty in a bid to enhance the value of MGM, one of Hollywood's original Big Four studios. In the past senior executives of the state-owned French banking group have argued that the studio's value would be enhanced if it could demonstrate the capability to turn out profitable box-office winners.

Australia 1.92	France 7.48	Italy 2.330	Singapore 2.11
Austria 16.30	Germany 2.2000	Malta 0.54	South Africa 5.77
Belgium 48.00	Greece 365.00	Netherlands 2.4700	Spain 183.75
Canada 2.02	Hong Kong 11.57	New Zealand 2.20	Sweden 10.27
Cyprus 5.73	India 51.64	Norway 1.55	Switzerland 1.725
Denmark 6.950	Ireland 0.9550	Portugal 22.50	Turkey 98.67
Finland 6.925	Israel 4.72	Saudi Arabia 5.68	USA 1.4000

Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli sheqel)

Yesterday the French government gave the green light for MGM's sale which could realise anything between \$1.5 billion (\$1 billion) and \$2 billion.

French textile and communications group Chargeurs said it would look at MGM and Polygram, controlled by Anglo-Dutch electronics group Philips, has also said it may bid. Other rumoured suitors include German media company Bertelsmann and The Walt Disney Co.

France became the improbable owner of MGM — once the proudest name in Hollywood under legendary producer Louis B. Meyer — through the ill-fated expansion of Credit Lyonnais. The state ended up with the holding company, Consortium de Realisation. The sale is to be conducted in co-operation with the Paris-based investment bank Lazard Freres.

12 FINANCE AND ECONOMICS

The Guardian Wednesday March 13 1996

Shareholders and policyholders could share billions • Shares rise 27p

Pru plans big payout

Pauline Springett

SHAREHOLDERS and policyholders of Prudential, the UK's largest life insurer, could share a multi-billion pound windfall payout it emerged yesterday.

Prudential's chief executive, Peter Davis, said the company had started talks with the Department of Trade and Industry over the possible distribution of its "orphan fund".

The Pru's 1995 pre-tax profits were £1,044 billion. Comparison with the previous year's £368 million was muddied by the company's switch to new accounting rules.

The bank will take deposits by telephone and will issue mortgages. The Pru already has a £700 million mortgage book and, operating with low costs, hopes to compete in the mortgage market.

Mr Davis said the UK life industry continued to be difficult, although business was improving. Public confidence had been dented by the mis-selling of personal pensions and controversy over disclosure of commissions.

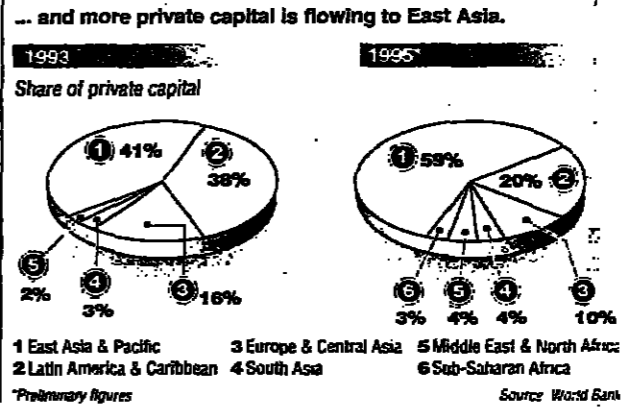
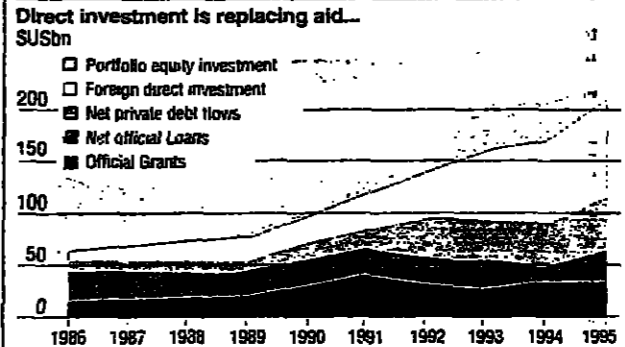
Sarah Ryle

WESTERN companies are investing record amounts in developing countries but not in the world's poorest nations, which are facing growing debt problems because they are losing official aid.

continuing trend towards globalisation of production, as well as economic reform programmes, had contributed to healthy private capital flows.

difficulties which some developing countries have in attracting private finance. Private capital as a whole slowed mainly because portfolio flows fell, pushed down by the drop in equity investment after the Mexican crisis.

Emerging markets



Hanson lops £1bn off debt in Cavenham timber sale

Roger Cowe

HANSON has raised \$1.6 billion (£1.06 billion) by selling the second part of its Cavenham timber and sawmill business after an initial \$500 million sale last month.

William Landuyt, chief executive of Hanson's US business, said the negotiations had been completed ahead of schedule and at a higher price.

The sale is a prelude to the break-up of the conglomerate that was built up in the 1980s through a series of ambitious takeovers. Later this year Hanson will emerge as a rump of the existing group.



Fear of flying... This worker's sticker says 'Keep Fokker In The Air', but along with 2,000 colleagues at Fokker's factory at Schiphol airport, Amsterdam, he was told yesterday that the company may crash this week.

Poorest nations miss out on record investment by Western companies

Debt-to-export ratios continued to worsen in sub-Saharan Africa, falling to 270 per cent, compared with improving debt ratios in East Asia which managed to reduce the ratio to 83 per cent in 1994 to 83 per cent last year.

Hours rule counts for little

WORKFACE/European work directive leaves employers plenty of scope for exemptions. Seumas Milne reports

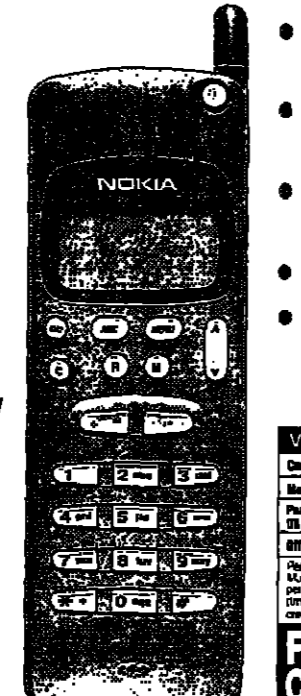
THE howls of rage from Tory Eurosceptics and employers' organisations and whoops of delight from Labour and the unions over yesterday's European Court of Justice ruling on working hours follow a well worn pattern of political hyperinflation in British reactions to Brussels social moves.

days a week, 16 per cent putting in more than 48 hours a week (compared with an EU average of 7 per cent) and 20 per cent entitled to less than four weeks off a year, the directive should change millions of working lives.

same largely goes for those whose jobs require continuity of service or production — which covers hospital security and media employees, — though the 48-hour average will apply to them.

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News in brief

Vickers soothes City over share options

SIR Richard Lloyd, chairman of tank and car maker Vickers, has contacted institutional investors in an attempt to soothe City anger over the way three directors exercised share options on the morning that the company announced its annual results.

500 more Barclays jobs go

UP TO 500 staff face the axe at Barclays Bank, which yesterday announced the latest redundancy programme in an industry-wide cost-saving drive that has resulted in tens of thousands of job losses over the past five years.

Williams seeks new buys

WILLIAMS Holdings, the conglomerate which owns Polycol DIY products, Yale locks and Thorn fire extinguishers, is keen on more acquisitions in its three main businesses of fire protection, security and building products.

TI engineers £185m profit

SALES and profits of engineering group TI (formerly Tube Investments) rose by more than a fifth last year, to £1.7 billion and £185 million respectively.

Breaking up would not be hard to do for C&W

Outlook

Nicholas Bannister

CANDIDATES for the vacant chief executive's job at Cable and Wireless should not count on a long stay. The odds on the group being broken up look even shorter now that merger talks with British Telecom have ground to a halt.

Breaking up would not be hard to do for C&W

The only certainty is that telecom companies are never going to be the same again. This perspective has encouraged companies to share risks — by forming alliances which can be unscrambled if necessary, rather than opting for expensive bids.

— with some financial engineering to avoid a bid for the minority stake in Hongkong Telecom. BT knows it would not be allowed to own C&W's 80 per cent stake in Mercury.



Kipper Williams cartoon: 'LOOKS LIKE WE'LL BE WORKING LATE AGAIN'

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CHEL TENHAM FESTIVAL

Collier digs deep for the Old firm

Dunwoody errs as Alderbrook loses a shoe and Champion title. Chris Hawkins reports

LIFE'S pendulum swung Graham Bradley's way at Cheltenham yesterday when he achieved the ironic triumph in winning the Smurfit Champion Hurdle on Collier Bay, beating last year's champion Alderbrook on whom he lost the ride 24 days ago.

dem's stable two years ago. He backed the horse at 15/1 last week and topped up his bet at 9/1 yesterday.



Grand Canyon... No danger to the Arkle Chase winner Ventana Canyon as he takes the last fence in splendid isolation

Cheltenham with form for the televised races

2.15 Winkley Woodrow 4.05 River Louisa 4.40 Chase of Mistletoe (2d) 5.15 Old Bluff at A Day

Table with 2 columns: Race details (time, name, odds) and Jockey/Trainer information.

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RACINE advertisement for Cheltenham Festival, featuring 'FIRST FOR CHEL TENHAM' and 'FAST RESULTS'.

Dean's double DEAN GALLAGHER, who decided to miss the first two days at Cheltenham, rode a 37/1 double at Windsor yesterday on Mr Flanagan and Katie Oliver, taking his tally to 11 winners in the last 10 racing days.

Huntingdon

2.05 Exemptor 3.50 Anticoe 3.40 Barford Sovereign 4.20 Bona 4.00 Cheltenham 4.10 Cheltenham 4.30 Cheltenham

Table with 2 columns: Race details (time, name, odds) and Jockey/Trainer information.

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Newton Abbot

2.00 Belle Life 2.30 Market Sprint 2.05 Dimes 3.40 Out Ranking 4.15 Ailsa George 4.10 Bona 4.00 Cheltenham 4.30 Cheltenham

Table with 2 columns: Race details (time, name, odds) and Jockey/Trainer information.

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Viking Flagship to sail home for Champion treble

Klairon Davis has had problems with his jumping since he beat Sound Man half a length in last season's Arkle Trophy, whereas Sound Man seems to have gone from strength to strength.

Results

Large table of race results for various events, including Cheltenham, Huntingdon, and Newton Abbot, listing winners, runners, and odds.

Soccer

Premiership: Chelsea 1, Manchester City 1

Clough gives City a well-earned lift

Marin Thorpe

MANCHESTER City scrapped for a vital point in their fight against relegation last night, catching Chelsea with an FA Cup hangover...

First game on the bench. His arrival offers another ingredient in the foreign-player debate...

The second half brought a tactical reshuffle from both sides. City dropped Brightwell into the three-man back line...



Wise moved... Kinkladze keeps Chelsea's midfielder guessing at Stamford Bridge last night

PHOTOGRAPH: DAN SMITH

Jensen goes, Dickov waits

Russell Thomas

AS THE Ian Wright affair continued to reverberate around Highbury, John Jensen slipped quietly away from the marble halls...

request will be dealt with in due course. Ian has asked for a transfer but he signed a new four-year contract only last season...

McCarthy set to keep old guard

MICK MCCARTHY will stick by the old guard when he names his first Republic of Ireland squad in Dublin today for the friendly with Russia at Lansdowne Road on March 27...

of two World Cup tournaments and one European Championship. There may be places in the Ireland squad for relative newcomers such as Liam Daish...

First Division: Crystal Palace 2, Tranmere Rovers 1

Hopkin hoists Palace to third

Jeremy Armstrong

AN EIGHTH-MINUTE goal by David Hopkin, corner, matched victors for Crystal Palace at the end of a scrappy game and raised Dave Bassett's team to third place...

for fans and Bassett, manager for a month, is aware of it. This was the fourth of six home games in 26 days...

brought it back. His chairman Ron Noades embraced him for his "motivation and man-management skills."

just before half-time, a goal too. The first, unsurprisingly, belonged to error and opportunism...

Distant chances fell to Freedman and Houghton, who both chipped high. Hopkin forced Coyne to concede a corner and the Australian went given a debut on the half-hour...

Clark ready to gamble

FRANK CLARK may gamble on Chris Bart-Williams's versatility to help Nottingham Forest in tonight's FA Cup sixth-round tie with Aston Villa at the City Ground...

Birmingham City 2, Huddersfield Town 0

Barnes enough to stir Fry

Tom Evans

PAUL BARNES's last goal before this match was an equaliser for Stoke City in a fierce Second Division promotion tussle...

ponents to five points, they sank their teeth into the Terriers after only 46 seconds, when Tai's cross to the far post was met by Legg...

flashed past the post. Huddersfield had their chances and might have snatched an equaliser before the interval...

Oldham 1, Sunderland 2

Rokermen's telling late Ball

Ian Ross

SUNDERLAND's recent progress has been so smooth and impressive that they would have anticipated a sixth consecutive league win when they arrived at Boundary Park...

and safety. They will do well to survive but survive they must, for the consequences of relegation are frightening, bearing in mind the club's parlous financial state...

dered enough chances to win half a dozen games and yet, astonishingly, their lead was snatched away from them on the stroke of half-time when Lee Richardson scored in smartly from 18 yards...

Results

Table of soccer results including FA Cup, Premier League, and other divisions.

Table of results for various sports including Rugby League, Tennis, Snooker, and others.

Table of fixtures for upcoming soccer matches across various leagues.

Table of fixtures for other sports like Snooker, Tennis, and Cricket.

Table of fixtures for international and other sports events.

Table of sports in brief, including Athletics, Ice Hockey, and Badminton.

Teamtalk advertisement for The Independent News and Reports Service, including contact information and a list of sports news items.

Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including 'Police R...', 'abrasive neds Mr', 'aints angry', 'bbs signi', and 'Sport in brief'.

Rugby League

Paul Fitzpatrick reports on the latest round of bad publicity to hit the club who seldom put a foot wrong on the field

Police probe Wigan 'transfer'

WIGAN and their chairman Jack Robinson are at the centre of a police inquiry into allegedly bogus transfer talks about one of their players.

transfer dealings involving Neil Cowie, their Welsh international forward, and Leeds.

Leeds chief executive Alf Davies to write a letter confirming the Yorkshire club's interest in Cowie, followed by a second letter saying that Leeds no longer wanted him because of the "binge" allegations made by the Observer.

Yesterday Davies confirmed that he had written to Robinson, but he would not elaborate on the letter's contents.

joined 16 years ago. An antiquities dealer, he took over from Maurice Lindsay, now the sport's chief executive, four years ago.

ary they admitted they had failed to pass on gate money from a World Cup game staged at Central Park in October.



Robinson... accusations

Cycling Jalabert sprints to the attack

William Fotheringham in Chalignac

THE first test of strength in a stage race is always eagerly awaited after the opening days, and yesterday's 108-mile leg to this tiny hilltop village suggests that the Paris-Nice "Race to the Sun" is likely to be fought out by last year's winner Laurent Jalabert of France, Britain's Chris Boardman and the American Lance Armstrong.

Jalabert was definitely the strongest yesterday. Neither Armstrong nor Boardman was able to get close to him when he attacked a 25-strong leading group at the foot of the sinuous two-mile climb to the finish line, hidden deep among the honey-coloured stone barns and sheep pastures of the Cantal.

Jalabert put in such a sprint that he gained about 20 seconds immediately, said Boardman afterwards. "There was nothing I could do; it was awesome. If I had tried to stay with him I would have blown my nuts off. I had to ride at my own pace."

Boardman's pace was nevertheless sufficient to rope in Armstrong and Luc Leblanc of France, world champions in 1993 and 1994 respectively and the only two riders who attempted to hold Jalabert's pace. The Welshman even regained a few seconds to restrict his losses to 16 seconds at the finish line, where Armstrong took a slow, painful sprint for second place.

Boxing

Abrasive Bruno sheds Mr Nice Guy

Kevin Mitchell in Las Vegas finds a touch of hubris in the court of King Frank in the last days before the big talking has to stop

THE British monarchy as we know it may be falling apart, says Charles Steiner of the ESPN television network, "but the King of England seems secure as he readies himself for the fight of his life."

He was gratuitously offensive to French and German journalists, labelling them with national stereotypes, before turning on a respected English sports writer in a cartoon display, Bruno was full of "pip pip hooray, old chap" in responding to the man's perfectly reasonable questions.

behaviour of some of our sporting tourists, and it is to be hoped they will behave themselves on Saturday night.

"Yeah, 5,000 will be coming to root for him," Tyson said, "and 5,000 will be taking that long, depressing trip back to England with him."

where near as ebullient as Bruno, and true to the pattern of nearly all his fights is playing it very low-key. He does not think Bruno really believes he can beat him. Tyson, although surrounded by fistic pygmies, is confident enough of his own ability to prepare almost in isolation.

His trainer Jay Bright does not seem to have much control over him. Indeed he is largely disparaged here as a "bucket carrier". The feeling is that Tyson is running his own show.

Such are the news-media clichés here, and Frank Bruno is doing nothing to upset the colonialist preconceptions. Though less than regal in his dealings with the media — indeed, much of the time on Monday he was downright rude — the man who can justifiably call himself heavyweight champion of the world seems to be settling in nicely as a benign despot.

It was an unedifying spectacle which had all of us cringing, although it must be said that the champion himself did not seem remotely worried or embarrassed. "There is a case for saying that this merely reflects his strength of mind as he prepares for what Steiner rightly describes as "the fight of his life".

About Bruno's boast that he will knock him out, Tyson said: "I'm sure he doesn't believe that in his heart, especially after our last encounter. I worry about everyone and I will say this about him, he is the heavyweight champion of the world. I'm not ranting and raving but my actions will speak louder than words."

He is the heavyweight champion of the world. I'm not ranting and raving but my actions will speak louder than words."

Perhaps he is listening too much to the comforting voices of those around him, but Bruno is sounding increasingly like a monarch who regards the challenge of Mike Tyson this Saturday night as something of a peasants' revolt.

All fighters withdraw to some extent close to a great fight, and any investors on the 10-1 odds against Bruno stopping Tyson inside the 12-round distance on Saturday night could have taken heart from his arrogance.

He did not spar on Monday, unlike Tyson on the previous Friday, who at least went through the motions during four desultory rounds with José Ribalta, but as always Bruno looked physically magnificent.

"He's a very, very strong clubber. He's an expert rabbit-puncher."

How far we have come from 1989. It was hardly conceivable after five rounds of frustration on the evening of February 25 that year that Bruno would return to Las Vegas seven years on as holder of the title Tyson then regarded as his personal property.

Asked later about what weight he would come in at for the fight, he seemed relatively unconcerned. "It doesn't really matter too much," he said. "I know I am in terrific shape and if I am 17½ stone or 17-8 I will still be at my peak."

Latest odds: Hill's: 1-5 Tyson, 10-3 Bruno. Ladbrokes: 1-4 Tyson, 11-4 Bruno.

Latest odds: Hill's: 1-5 Tyson, 10-3 Bruno. Ladbrokes: 1-4 Tyson, 11-4 Bruno.



Got everything taped... Bruno exudes confidence for Saturday's big fight against Mike Tyson PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENNINGS

Rugby Union

Saints angry at Gibbs 'signing'

ST HELENS, angered by reports that Scott Gibbs has signed registration forms with Newcastle rugby union club, said yesterday that they would block any attempt by the former Lions and Wales union international to return to his old code.

St Helens insist Gibbs is their man. "Scott is going nowhere," said their chief executive David Howes. But Newcastle's director of rugby Rob Andrew claimed: "Scott is very keen on joining us."

David Plummer on the Neath and Wales centre bringing flair back to The Gnoll

you have to take players on, but I see my job as to put my wings on it.

Howes said: "Scott has a contract with us and Super League for the next three Super League seasons and has received a Super League loyalty bonus. Therefore he cannot do anything without our permission."

One player who will be free to play both codes is the Orrell and Scotland Under-21 wing Graham Smith, who joined Wakefield Trinity yesterday. Trinity will not stand in his way if he is selected to tour New Zealand with Scotland this summer.

ing in his first full season of senior rugby and who had trials as a striker with Coventry City and Birmingham City, made his debut as a teenager against Italy in January last year. It was assumed that Wales had unearthed another Ray Gravell, a crash-tackling, contact-seeking centre in the mould of the injured player, he had replaced, Gareth Thomas.

They have combined as a pairing to prompt some of the most exhilarating rugby on the club scene in Wales, not just this season but for many years. Both have light hands, vision and understanding and bring the best out of those around them even in the tightest situations.

England set for busier schedule

ENGLAND'S international schedule is to be increased to raise extra revenue to fund professionalism and ensure frequent competition, writes Robert Armstrong.

Argentina as England's warm-up opponents for the Five Nations. If neither of last year's World Cup finalists are available, then the third international slot will probably be filled by a nation from North America or the Pacific islands.

When Davies, who is playing in his first full season of senior rugby and who had trials as a striker with Coventry City and Birmingham City, made his debut as a teenager against Italy in January last year. It was assumed that Wales had unearthed another Ray Gravell, a crash-tackling, contact-seeking centre in the mould of the injured player, he had replaced, Gareth Thomas.

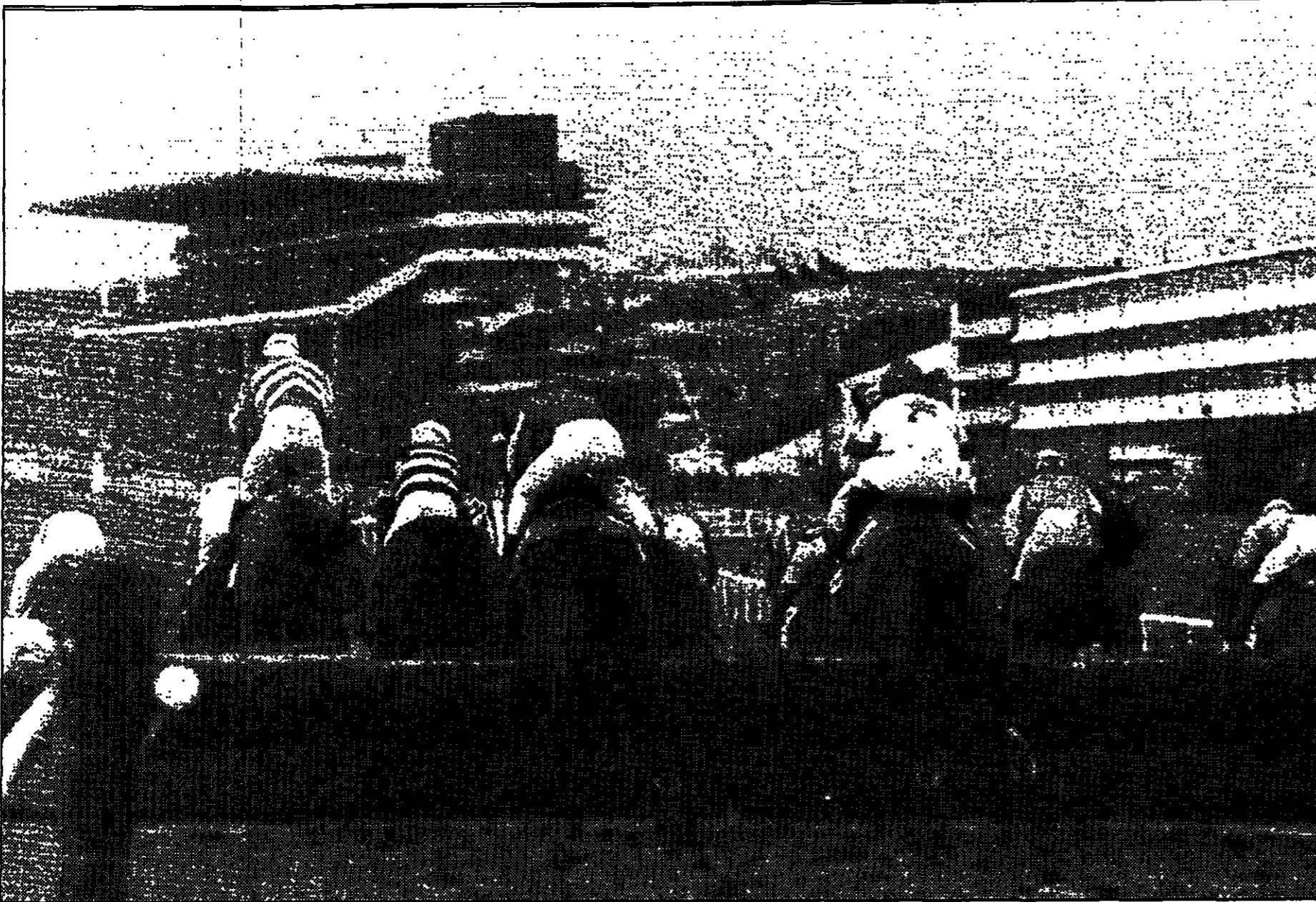


Leigh Davies... classical

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# SportsGuardian

## OPENING RACES OF CHELTENHAM FESTIVAL DELIGHT THE BOOKMAKERS



Tail-enders... the field approaches the grandstand in the Citroën Supreme Novice hurdle, the first race of the National Hunt's premier festival

PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK BARON

# Collier Bay seizes the day

Paul Weaver sees Graham Bradley enjoy a victory from which dreams are made

**A** HUSH fell over Cheltenham's snowy hills yesterday as Graham Bradley steered home Collier Bay to win the Smurfit Champion Hurdle and confound the predictions of an Anglo-Irish rumble between last year's winner, Alderbrook, and the romantics' choice, Danoli.

Collier Bay, a small winner ante-post and a better winner yesterday, brought smiles from the bookmakers but nothing so big as the grin that filled the normally crumpled, lugubrious features of the popular trainer Jim Old.

Alderbrook, the 10-11 favourite, was second, 2½ lengths behind, and the heroic Danoli, whose career appeared to be over 11 months ago when he fractured his near-fore fetlock, finished fourth. Collier Bay, a small winner ante-post and a better winner yesterday, brought smiles from the bookmakers but nothing so big as the grin that filled the normally crumpled, lugubrious features of the popular trainer Jim Old.

whose first Cheltenham Festival win this was. "I just watched a dream unfold," he said. "This has always been the race I wanted to win above all others. With this race I feel you can buy a horse that can win it. The Gold Cup is a dream factory and the Grand National is a lottery. "I was thrilled when I saw the rain come down because I knew it would suit him. But I have had to be patient with him. He had a virus a couple of years ago and another last year. He was not at his best in Leopardstown. He had a horrible journey over there and there was 10% of improvement in him this time. And he is such a relentless galloper. "I have always been a big fan of Brad. I brought him south after things started to go wrong with the Dickinsons. He has the best alarm clock in the business." That was something of an in-joke — but a good one. Bradley, whose seventh Cheltenham win this was, had a chance of riding Alderbrook but when invited to take him for a gallop he overslept. "I thought, 'That's it. I've

missed my chance to ride a Champion Hurdle winner." But this business has plenty of ups and downs. "I was due to take Alderbrook for a run four weeks ago. But the previous night I went to Dean Gallagher's birthday party and got back at about 1.30am. I was pretty drunk, to be honest, but I thought I'd be there easily by 10am. "My girlfriend, Amanda Wilson, got up and went to work at 7.30. She set the alarm, an electric one, and there was a power cut and I didn't wake up until 10.20. I can sleep a bit. "I rang Kim Bailey and said I would be there in 10 minutes but he said, 'Don't worry'. The schooling session had already happened. It was a nightmare, and very embarrassing. I made Southern Electric send me a telegram saying when the power cut was. I felt very unlucky to lose the chance to ride Alderbrook but I must thank Southern Electric now. "Collier Bay travelled very well. I was delighted when I saw the rain and snow because I knew it would suit

him. I heard a few words I can't repeat when I went past Mysliv. Jamie Osborne had passed over the chance to ride Collier Bay. "If Irish cheerers were still-born, with the failures of Danoli and Hotel Minella, matters might have been far worse. Early in the morning strong winds had blown the candy-striped canvas roof off Guinness Village and the punters looked likely to be without their favourite Liffey Liqueur for the day. "At one stage I thought the whole lot was coming down and I would have to tell a few thousand Irishmen they couldn't have any Guinness." On a bitterly cold day, when the racing silks in front of the white hills looked rather like a Stubbs superimposed on a Bruesel, the Guinness was important.

# The Red giant who was left to walk alone



Vincent Hanna

**T**HE thing about great people is that so many others claim to have known them. Casual encounters become lifelong friendships, stories are retold and embellished. We look in their reflected light. Try it sometime, in football circles, with the name of Bill Shankly. He died 14 years ago, and is commemorated in a new book.

Shankly epitomised a club, a city and an era, and everyone has a story about him. Some people say football is a matter of life and death... finish it yourselves.

Shankly was a great man. With Matt Busby and Jack Stein he built the foundations of the modern professional game. Unlike Busby and Stein he was honoured neither as he deserved nor as he wished. And he was unable to demand it.

Shankly knew that football was not just entertainment but the cement that binds players, fans into a community. He despised the effete and the amateur. It was because he was deadly serious about what the game meant to working men.

He was born in Glenbuck, in the Ayrshire coalfield, where football provided relief, and occasionally escape, from coal-dust and miner's lung. It helped Shankly the socialist get back at those people who ran the game — and life — from "upstairs".

I met him half a dozen times in the Seventies. He humoured me, a bit, because I also wrote about trade unions. He once grilled me for half an hour about a car dispute at Ellesmere Port. "Why can't they learn how to fight for themselves?" he said fiercely.

I AM glad that he did not see his game dominated by marketing men, superstores and TV-arranged fixtures. For Shankly, the team was the focus of a community. Civic pride, as Dave Bowler argues, was never regarded as an eccentric attachment to a buried past. Shankly knitted the city around his club.

Think of Shankly and you hear the echo of J B Priestley. To say that those men paid their shillings to watch 22 men kick a ball, is to say that a

violin is wood and canvas, that Hamlet is so much paper and ink. For a shilling Shankly offered conflict and art.

Bowler's book is not an easy read. He is a former accountant who once wrote pop biographies. He never met Shankly. His style is that of an earnest research student eager to display his sources. There is hardly a sense of what it was like to be there — either as player, manager or fan. Although I did like the description of Shankly's idea of a good meal: huge chops boiled in barley, or poached eggs by the dozen.

But it's a rewarding reading that part dealing with Shankly's retirement in 1974. There Bowler's experience of board-room relationships becomes relevant.

I remember being puzzled back then. Shankly posed for photos "gardening" at home, holding a pair of shears, in immaculate blazer, flannels and shiny shoes. But Hugh McIlvanney described his sense of cruel disappointment, his bitterness at the way he had been treated. How he had always done things "without any help from those people". Those people again.

**H**AVING poked about a bit myself, I believe that Shankly decided to quit largely because his wife Nessie had asked him to. Some directors tried hard to persuade him to stay on as general manager but abruptly and intemperately he said no. How he had about his decision and kept turning up at Melwood, the club's training ground.

Bob Paisley's instant success as inheritor of the Shankly team made things worse. Shankly was consigned to the past. Instead of living out in get back at those people who ran the game — and life — from "upstairs".

His character made it impossible for him to mend fences. In his autobiography he wrote: "It would have been a wonderful honour to have been made a director... but I don't go round saying I would like to be this and that; that's begging, and I'm not a beggar."

"The privilege of the great," said Jean Giraudoux, "is to see catastrophes from a terrace." Had he known Bill Shankly he might have added, "even their own".

After his death, in 1981, the directors erected the Shankly Gates. Many in Liverpool think they should have renamed Anfield. So do I.

\*Shankly, the authorised biography of Bill Shankly, by Dave Bowler (Orion, 16.99).

## First day claims four horses

**F**OUR horses were destroyed yesterday at the Cheltenham Festival, two belonging to trainer Martin Pipe and the owner Darren Mercer, writes Ken Oliver.

Draborgie and Mack The Knife were both put down after shattering pasterns. The other two were Killfinny Cross, who broke his neck, and No When To Run, who injured a shoulder.

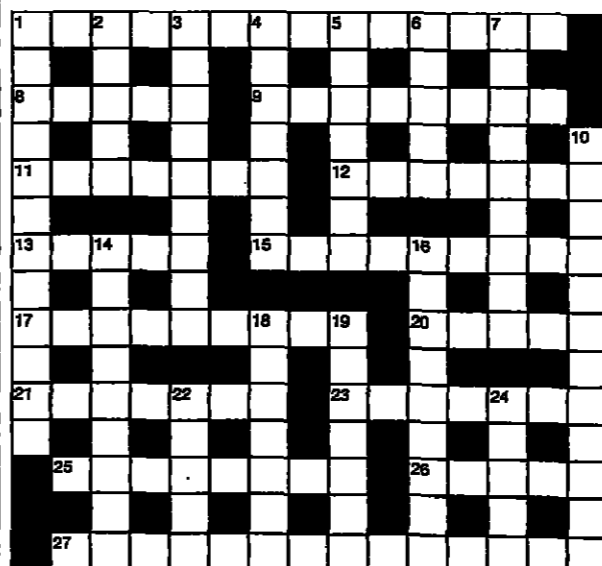
Draborgie, the subject of an injury scare last week, was a doubtful runner for the Guinness Arkle Chase until yesterday morning. The mare, who had won her previous two races since coming to England from France, was the 3-1 favourite. Mack The Knife, a 33-1 chance, suffered his fatal injury in the Champion Hurdle. Pipe said: "This

must be the saddest afternoon of my training career. Words cannot express the sadness we all feel. If horses run badly, at least they can come back to fight another day. "This must be the hardest game in the world. It is absolutely shattering to lose two grand horses on the same day."

Chris Hawkins, page 13

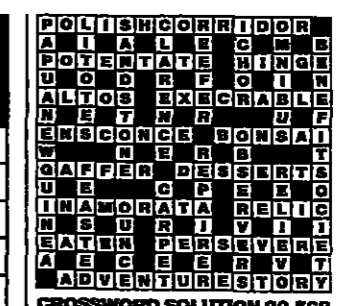
## Guardian Crossword No 20,599

Set by Araucaria



- Across**
- 1 Weep about it not opening the gizzard for pork pies, bugs, etc (6-9)
  - 8 Boast from last month (5)
  - 9 1 down's past love in a pet (8)
  - 11 Sucks to supplier of grass (7)
  - 12 Round object containing salt and resembling an eye (7)
  - 13 Backer of one emperor and worshipper of another (5)
  - 15 Princess upset having lost article with long thin sections (9)
  - 17 Identity in some respects, some in flower on mountain (9)
  - 20 1 down's opposite, advantageously placed (3,2)
  - 21 Landlord's characters of which 1 down was a man (7)
  - 23 Wearing long pants, he roasted 1 down's 3 (7)

- 25 Conversant with a witch's cat, say (8)
  - 26 1 down's grass (5)
  - 27 Base character of French officer on English class head (14)
- Down**
- 1 Revolutionary rising worries idle characters that returned Benn (12)
  - 2 Horsplay (5)
  - 3 Approve horse among deer, condescending custom (9)
  - 4 Bent like a bishop? (7)
  - 5 A disc that resounds around a railway for years (3-4)
  - 6 Fish round river for money (8)
  - 7 Singular little 21, gold, most of it on the shoulder (9)
  - 10 Exchange blows with some deputies in blocks (5,7)
  - 14 Butterfingers? Wrong tack coming into coast (9)



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- 16 Trouble with chopper ace: double hot rotor? (9)
- 18 Animate in 4 feature of 1 down (7)
- 19 Island shows the wrong way to conserve the killer whale (7)
- 22 Pick of the literary bunch (5)
- 24 Cheek from Worcestershire, maybe (5)

**Solution tomorrow**

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